1: Barnes
● 643
622
634

Ngoni FR5

[Category 643 is reserved for information pertaining to only the Paramount Chief and his activities; data on village chiefs or headmen will be found under category 622, while information on chiefs and other officials at the county or unstated intermediate level has been classified in category 634.--Analyst]

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

142
291
342
643

[493]

PLATE I. Paramount Chief Pontino Mpezeni Jere III, K.M., standing with a man from the chief's capital. The man points upwards and sings that, because they conquered the Ngoni, the Whites must have come from heaven.

[Frontpiece Facing p. i]

kingdom under Sobhuza I and Mswati and the various Ngoni 178
States. Despite their common social and cultural origin these
emergent polities had each its distinctive features. The special
characteristics of Ngoni society are at least in part understandable 105
as due to the differences in its social environment as compared with 171
Zulu and Swazi. The Ngoni were migrants, whereas Zulu and 173
Swazi were not. The Ngoni captured a large number of men and
women of non-Nguni origin who were assimilated into the Ngoni
State as individuals, whereas for the most part the Zulu and Swazi
States expanded by the incorporation of existing social groups as
groups, not as individuals, and these groups, if not all Nguni in
origin, at least belonged to closely allied peoples.

Thus to set the Ngoni in proper perspective we must begin 178
with a brief description of their Nguni forebears. In the eighteenth
century the Nguni were grouped into a large number of small [619]
chiefdoms each containing a dominant agnatic lineage segment
to which the chief belonged. Each chiefdom contained segments of [613]
other lineages, and most lineages had segments in a number of
chiefdoms, one segment being dominant in its chiefdom. Lineages
were exogamous, their members were graded in terms of primogeniture
and the ranking of wives, and as a result of quarrels segments
transferred their allegiance from one chief to another or even
founded new chiefdoms. Most residental settlements were small, [592]
containing only the agnatic descendants of a living man, with their
wives and children, and were divided into three sections or 'houses',
led by the great, right- and left-hand wives of the polygynous head
of the settlement. There were also larger homesteads containing
the dwellings of chiefs and other members of the dominant lineage [643]
as well as those of many genealogically unrelated dependants. The [63
chief was assisted by his agnatic kinsmen and by the heads of non-chiefly
lineage segments and by other unrelated men whom he
placed as lieutenants, or indunas, in charge of districts or responsible
for specific administrative, judicial or military tasks. For fighting [701]
and hunting the men of the chiefdom were organized in divisions,
each attached to a royal homestead. There was also an organization [561]
of youths into small age-sets, groupings of coevals who had
been circumcised together.

At the turn of the century, with the emergence of large kingdoms, 173
each containing many chiefdoms under the leadership of a 561
king, the age-set system changed its form and the royal homesteads [648]
acquired greater significance. Circumcision was discontinued and
the age-sets began to be organized on a national basis. Each [304]
age-set constituted a regiment in the national army, had it barracks

lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal 178
headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni 621
group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential [701]
system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth 173
centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. 643
There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,[1] dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethewa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others [167]
moved off to the north. About 1821[2] Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees northeastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,[3] fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the [721]
indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside [727]
their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on 173
farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and 167
also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

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[1] I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *ch* whenever the new form *c* might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu. [104]

[2] cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 5, 17, 71. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1823 and Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 15, has 1823 or 1824. Young, *History*, p. 109, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 8, both have 1825. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1819, while Coxhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1830's.

[3] For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

his leadership, or who may have been part of his following before the migration began.[10] 173 167

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation (*isithakazelo*) common to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought referred to them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as Angoni, Amapundi, Bangoni, Batuta, Bazowa, Bunga, Landeens, Landims, Machendi, Mafiti, Mafitte, Magwagwara, Makwangara, Mangone, Mangwangwara, Manitu, Maviti, Mavitu, Mazite, Mazitu, Mbunga, Mchecherere, Rugaruga, Sinyama, Waangwe, Wajoja, Wamachonde, Wamachote, Wangoni, Wapoma, Watuta, Zulu and Zulu Kaffirs.[11] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands. 101

TABLE I. LEADERS OF GROUPS IN THE 1820's

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Soshangane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

[551] [643] ●

4. *The residential system*

The Nguni men and women who made up the core of Zwangendaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them, became known as *regional governors*[12] and their lineages became 173 613 [727] [622] [431]

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[10] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 158-71, 209-16; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.

[11] See Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 99.

[12] *Mulumuzana*, pl. *alumuzana*. cf. Zulu, umnumzana, village headman; also Read, 'Tradition', p. 460.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

5. *Under Zwangendaba's leadership*

When the Ngoni migration began, the greater portion of 173
Zwangendaba's followers belonged to the primal segment founded 595
for the great wife of Hlatshwayo, father of Zwangendaba. When 613
the migration began there were perhaps a thousand people in this 621
segment (this figure is largely guesswork). For convenience of 631
reference we shall refer to the various historically significant segments by numbers. Thus segment 1, with the proper name of 643
Elangeni, is that of Hlatshwayo's great wife. The structural relationship of seventeen numbered segments to each other and to the royal genealogy is shown in Diagram 1. A list of their proper names and of the names of the lords and ladies associated with them, is given in Table II, together with information on three segments superior to segment 1 and on three other segments which cannot be placed on Diagram 1 for lack of information.

This diagram and the accompanying table are skeletons, showing only those few men and women who were heads of major groups which, partly fortuitously, have endured to the present day and are now large chiefdoms. There were many more queens than the ten shown on the diagram and very many more sons of chiefs, regional governors, lieutenants and other less exalted men and women all of whom were in charge of named segments, many of which still survive, forming part of a single system. The same principles of organization applied at all levels in the residential system. Here we have set out the names and positions of only the major limbs of the tree of State. We must not forget that the minor branches and little twigs were part of the same growing whole.

Segment 1 included the greater portion of the State, but it is clear from Elmslie and Fraser, and made explicit by Read, that the headquarters of several superior segments were also present on the march north. Read states that villages belonging to nine generations of chiefs were still in existence in northern Nyasaland in 1936. There is no direct evidence from Fort Jameson, for there are no headquarters of ancient royal segments there, but there are several villages belonging to the lieutenants of segments founded by Zwangendaba's father. I have therefore included in Table II the three superior segments whose names are given by Chibambo.[19] It is probable that Zwangendaba had succeeded to the position of

[Text continues on page 15]

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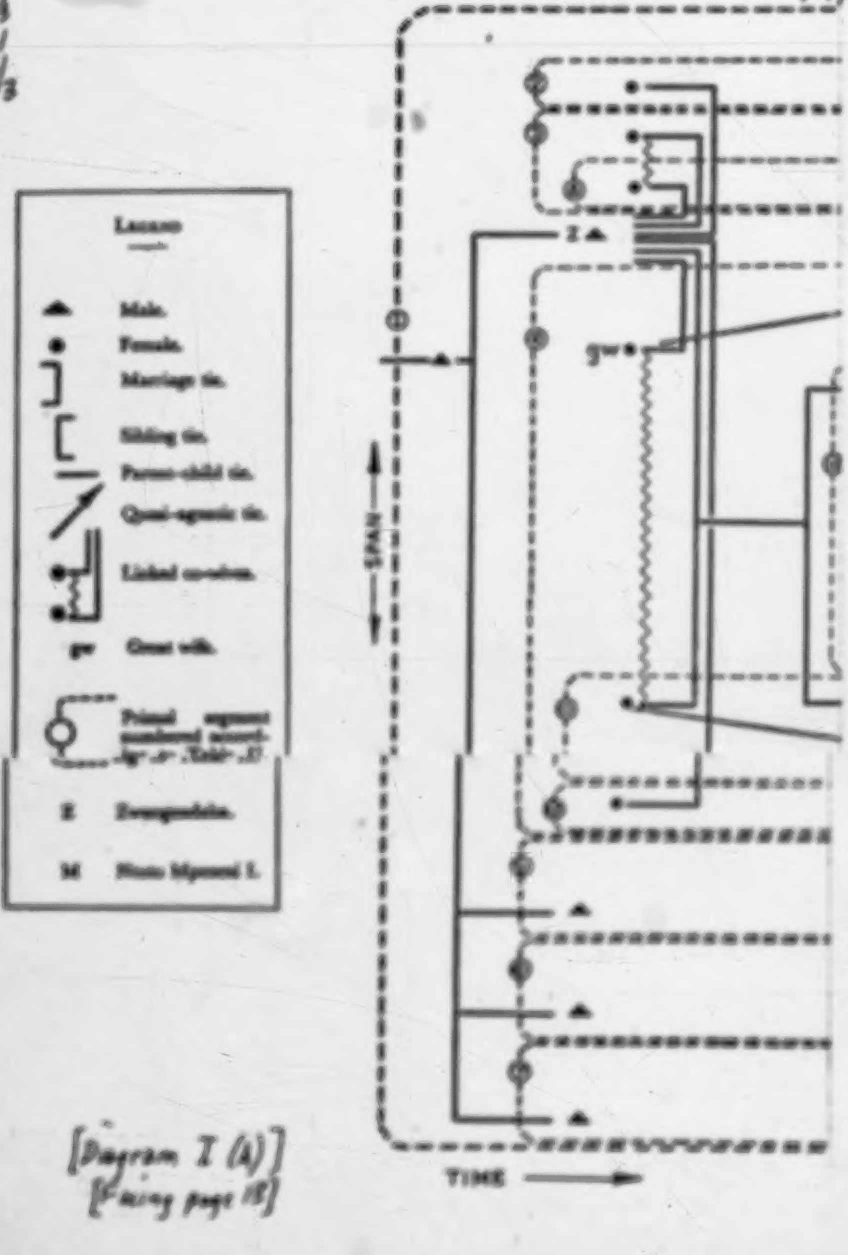
[19] Read, 'Traditions', pp. 463 f.; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 14.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

173
595
613
621
631
643

DIAGRAM I. THE ROYAL LINE
AND THE SEQUENTIAL SYSTEM
Segments
1-17


Legend
Male.
Female.
Marriage tie.
Sibling tie.
Parent-child tie.
Quasi-agnatic tie.
Linked co-wives.
gw Great wife.
Primal segment numbered according to "Table" [illegible]
Z Zwangendaba.
M Nsuto Mpezeni I.
Z
gw
SPAN
TIME

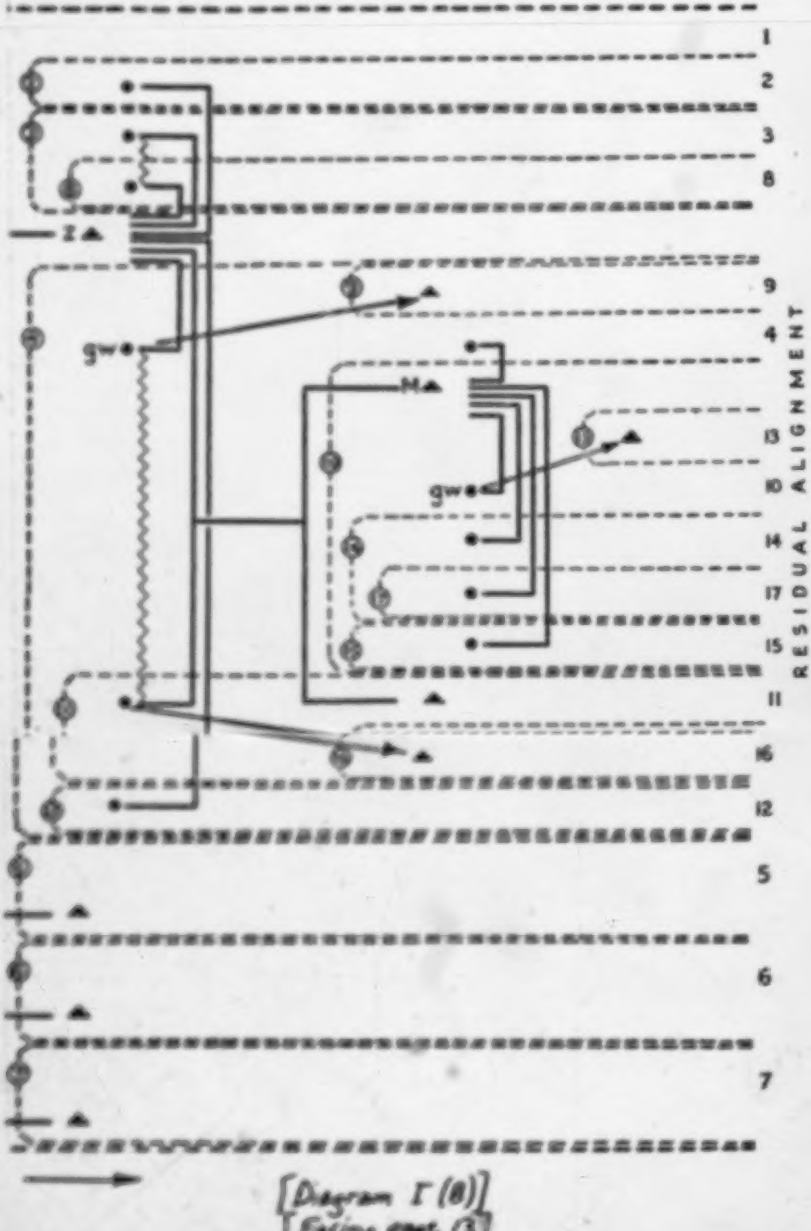
[Diagram I (A)]
[Facing page 18]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

DIAGRAM I. THE ROYAL LINE AND THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

SEGMENTS 1–17

173
595
613
621
631
643


1
2
3
8
Z
9
gw
4
M
13
gw
10
14
17
15
11
16
12
5
6
7
RESIDUAL ALIGNMENT

[Diagram I (B)]
[Facing page 13]

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

lord of many segments superior to his own and that at least part of 173
these superior segments came with him on the migration. 613

Within segment 1, Zwangendaba established inferior segment 595
18 (Emveyeyeni or Mvelekeni) for his great wife. This segment or 621
part of it was subsequently annihilated and for that reason its 631
relationship to later segments is obscure; I have not been able to 643
place it on Diagram 1. Three of Zwangendaba's younger brothers founded segments 5, 6 and 7 (Kunyeni, Nyungweni and Engwenyameni) within segment 1. Zwangendaba formed two subsidiary bevies of wives and made segments 3 and 2 (Ekwendeni and Emcisweni)[18] for them, presumably inferior to segment 18. Another bevy of wives with their own segment 19 (Emaisini) is mentioned by Chibambo and Rangeley, but its relation to other segments is not recorded. It seems probable that segment 19, like segments 2 and 3, was inferior to the ill-fated segment 18.

There was a practice among the Ngoni whereby some of the 173
co-wives in a bevy were grouped into *linked* pairs or trios. If a wife 595
was barren or old or if her parents wished to honour her husband, 613
she was given an agnatic kinswoman as her junior linked co-wife. 643
Children born by the junior wife then ranked as if they had been borne by her linked senior.[19] Zwangendaba's great wife, the lady of segment 18, was barren but she had a junior linked co-wife who became pregnant. During her pregnancy an incident occurred of historical importance. It was, and still is, customary to offer beer [273]
to the Paramount Chief whenever it is brewed in the headquarters of important segments. During this wife's pregnancy beer brewed in the headquarters of segment 18 was offered to Zwangendaba. He thought that the beer was doctored or had filth in it and [682]
assumed that there was a plot to kill him. He sent warriors to destroy the headquarters of the segment, which thus disappeared as a political unit. However some of the probable constituent

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[18] Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 58, records an alternative tradition that the lady of segment 3 was the first woman to be made great wife, and that she was later demoted in favour of the lady of segment 18.

[19] See my *Marriage*, pp. 4, 6, 34, 94.

←

NOTES 1/a

(a) Ancestor of present Chief Mlonyeni, Fort Manning Division.
(b) Ancestor of former Chief Mlonyeni and present Chief Tsiska, Fort Jameson District.
(c) Not an ancestor of present Chief Mishele, who belongs to segment 11.
(d) Not to be confused with a segment of the same name formed by Chief Mpezeni III in 1948.
(e) Not shown on Diagram 10.

1/a [See table on page 14.—Analyst]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

173 parts of the segment, namely segments 2, 3 and 19, survived as
613 independent inferior segments within segment 1. The lieutenant
995 in charge of the warriors spared the pregnant queen and hid her.
643 She bore a son, Ntutu Mpezeni, and later was shown to Zwangendaba who received her kindly and, according to Chibambo, ordered her to live with her son in the headquarters of segment 1. She was not in charge of a bevy of wives, and as by this time the great wife was dead, the bevy in segment 3 now became Zwangendaba's senior bevy. Mwambera, eldest son of the leader of this bevy, was thus a candidate for the main heirship but owing to the disappearance of segment 18 and the subsequent reconciliation between Zwangendaba and Mpezeni's mother, the relative status of the two sons was uncertain. This uncertainty may have been one of the precipitating causes in the subsequent break-up of the State.

Rangeley's version of this incident is that after he had been
[114] shown Mpezeni, Zwangendaba ordered the headquarters of segment 18 to be rebuilt. This seems less likely to be true than the version we have followed, since there is, as far as I know, no present-day village which we can identify as the headquarters of this segment.[29]

From Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba went up the Limpopo
173 Valley into Mashonaland. He fought with Kalanga and other
167 Shona peoples and there was renewed fighting with other refugee
721 groups under Soshangane and Nxaba. In 1835 Zwangendaba's group crossed over to the north side of the River Zambezi near Zumbo and settled in Nsenga country for four years. They moved on again along the eastern rim of the Luangwa basin and eventually arrived in about 1842 in Ufipa, on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. Here in about 1845 Zwangendaba died.

Two points of historical detail may be mentioned here. There is reliable
114 evidence for a raid made on a Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay on 22 October 1833
173 by some of Soshangane's people.[30] Poole and Winterbottom state explicitly that
167 Zwangendaba's men also took part in this attack, and Lancaster seems to imply
721 the same. According to the chronology adopted by Young and by Poole himself Zwangendaba was at this time four hundred and fifty miles away in the Kalanga country of Southern Rhodesia and it therefore seems unlikely, though not impossible, that he participated in this raid. Elmslie, Young and Chibambo do not mention it at all, and Bryant refers only to Soshangane's part in it.

A few years after Zwangendaba left Natal, he was followed by Mzilikazi, a chief who for a while fought under Shaka and then fled from him with his followers.

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[29] Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', pp. 12ff.; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 16ff.; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', pp. 58f.

[30] Theal, *Portuguese in South Africa*, pp. 279f.

This story is followed by Bryant but does not occur in any accounts 173
collected from Ngoni themselves. It seems probable therefore that 669
this seceding section was not numerous or important.[27] 167

There are no other disruptions mentioned in the literature, 619
and it seems probable therefore that until the death of Zwangendaba, the State remained largely intact. However the process, common in Bantu Africa, by which rival claimants to a throne succeed only in dividing their kingdom, operated with striking [648] effect as soon as the founder of the State was buried. The elimination of segment 18 has sometimes been suggested as the reason why the State broke up, but it is clear from comparative considerations that a State of this kind was likely at any time to break into a number of independent groups, and that this tendency was greatest at the death or senescence of the king.

About 1840 a number of important people, mainly coming from south of the Zambezi, were killed off as a result of an internal struggle for power in which it appears that the recently captured Tumbuka, who were successful witch-finders, were allied with the [754] Swazi and other Ndandwe against the Tsonga from the Delagoa Bay region.[28] Unfortunately there is very little information available on the relationship of this struggle to the rest of the political system. It is, however, clear that the effect of killing off a large number of Ngoni of Tsonga origin was insufficient to prevent the State breaking up a few years later.

When Zwangendaba died, his sons were still young and, for 173
the time being, effective leadership of the State was disputed 119
between men of his own generation whose positions are shown in 643
Diagram 2. His brothers, the lords of segments 5 and 6, were already dead. Fraser describes the dispute as a struggle between Ntabeni's children and Mgayi. Ntabeni was a younger brother of Zwangendaba and the lord of segment 7 while Mgayi was Zwangendaba's father's younger brother's son who, on Chibambo's evidence, represented the interests of the residue of segment 1. Rangeley has a slightly different version and makes Mgayi a supporter of segment 4. Poole, presumably following Fraser, says with some qualification that Ntabeni and Mgayi both claimed the chieftainship. From what we know of the south-eastern Bantu, and from our knowledge of present-day Ngoni, it seems unlikely that a brother would claim to be the legitimate heir in preference to a son, however much he might strive to gain ascendancy over the son. It seems preferable to follow Young and Chibambo in regarding Ntabeni and Mgayi

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[27] Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, pp. 146-7, 176; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 464 *f.*
[28] See p. 83.

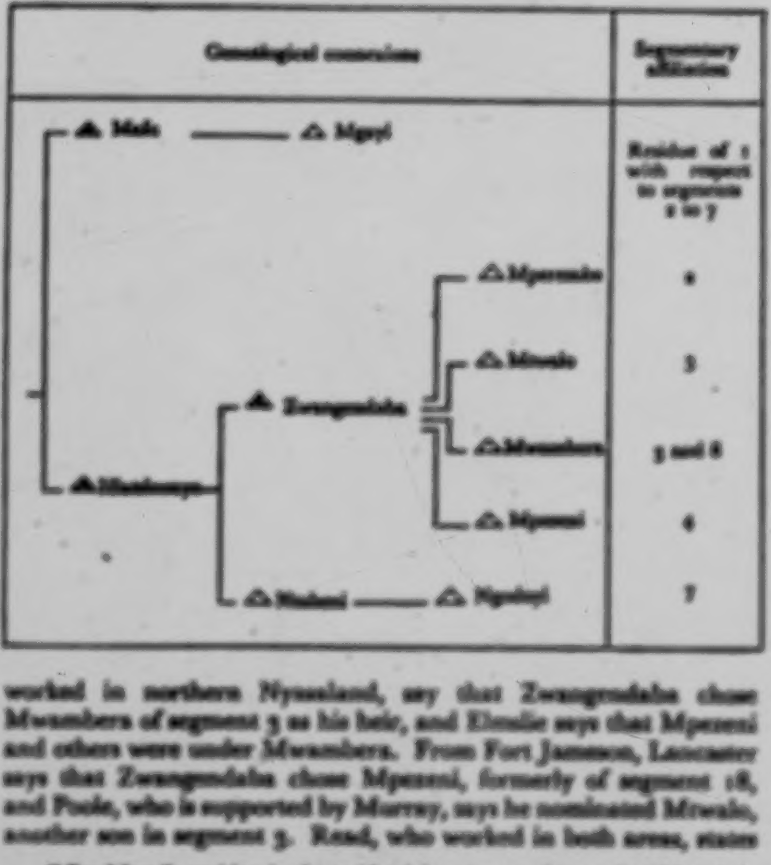
1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

173
114
643

as acting as regent in turn on behalf of the young sons of Zwangendaba.*

The various published accounts of the succession differ from one another and reflect the different interpretations put upon the same event by rival sections of the tribe. Fraser and Young, who worked in northern Nyasaland, say that Zwangendaba chose Mwambera of segment 5 as his heir, and Elmslie says that Mpezeni and others were under Mwambera. From Fort Jameson, Lancaster says that Zwangendaba chose Mpezeni, formerly of segment 18, and Poole, who is supported by Murray, says he nominated Mtwalo, another son in segment 3. Read, who worked in both areas, states

DIAGRAM 2. ZWANGENDABA AND HIS HEIRS


Genealogical connexions
Segmentary affiliation
Mafu
Mgayi
Residue of 1 with respect to segments 2 to 7
Mperembe
2
Mtwalo
3
Zwangendaba
Mwambera
4 and 5
Hlachwayo
Mpezeni
6
Ntabeni
Ngodwayo
7

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* For Mgayi's position in the residential system, we have only Chibambo's remark, 'the regent being Mgayi Jere, the father of Mbonja, of Ekwendeni', to be compared with Young's and Rangeley's mention of [illegible] ([illegible]) as the village of Mgayi. Rangeley also implies that Mgayi was Zwangendaba's brother's son, which is unlikely. Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 23*ff*.; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Young, *Notes*, pp. 119*ff*.; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 60.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

that 'the history of those years, as related to-day, is largely concerned 173
with proving in each area that their Paramount is the only rightful 114
one'.[illegible] It is not our task to decide between these conflicting stories. 643
What is important for our purposes is firstly that there was a disputed succession, and secondly that present-day rival groups are still concerned each to show that its claimant was the legitimate heir.

Chibambo, who belongs to northern Nyasaland, has a different
version. He states that Zwangendaba chose as his heir his younger 173
brother's eldest son Ngodoyi, in segment 7. Such a succession 643
would have been unusual, for Ngodoyi's father, Ntabeni, was still alive, and Chibambo does not discuss why Zwangendaba should have passed over all his own sons. Nor does Chibambo explain why Ntabeni, as regent, should have supported the claims of Zwangendaba's sons as against those of his own son Ngodoyi, for according to his account the regent declared that Mpezeni was the rightful heir. The lady of segment 3 had earlier quarrelled with the regent, lord of segment 7,[illegible] and now to spite her he declared that the next in succession after Mpezeni was not her eldest son Mwambera but Mtwalo, the eldest son of one of her subordinate co-wives.[illegible] Chibambo suggests that it was this quarrel which led the regent to support Mpezeni as against the legitimate claims of segment 3.

The regent established a new segment 4, Msongaleni, for Mpezeni and his mother, and within segment 3 formed a separate segment 8, Enchakachakeni or Ekigodhlweni, for Mwambera and his mother, thus leaving Mtwalo and his mother in the headquarters of segment 3.

Chibambo states that Gwaza Jere, senior lieutenant of segment 1, supported the regent when he selected Mpezeni as Zwangendaba's heir, while Young says he strongly opposed it; both writers agree that after Mpezeni had been chosen there was a quarrel between the regent and the headquarters of segment 1.[illegible] Ntabeni, the regent, died shortly afterwards and his segment 7 broke off from the rest of the group. They were pursued by a party from segment 1 headquarters, but made their escape. The regentship now passed

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[illegible] Fraser, loc. cit.; Young, loc. cit.; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 27; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 78; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 8; Murray, *Handbook*, pp. 99 f.; Read, 'Tradition and prestige', p. 463. cf. Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 17.

[illegible] Fraser, *ibid.*, p. 12; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 60.

[illegible] A Swazi co-wife, according to Winterbottom. However, his name for Mwambera's mother differs from that given by Chibambo, who merely says that the two wives were sisters. Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', p. 126; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 18.

[illegible] cf. *Occasional papers for Nyasaland*, 2, pp. 24-5.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

173 to Zwangendaba's father's brother's son Mgayi, of the residue of
64/3 segment 1.

Elmslie states that Ntabeni's people, i.e. those of segment 7, went northward
173 on the west side of Tanganyika and he is followed in this by Murray, Bryant and
Tew. Elmslie bases his statement on Stewart, who heard of them there in 1879.
167 However, Stewart did not visit the west side of Lake Tanganyika himself, and
114 merely gathered his information from people in a Mambwe village on his way to
the lake in October 1879. The account of the Ngoni that they gave him was
668 incorrect in a number of particulars, and we have, therefore, to treat with
caution their statement about the existence of an Ngoni group west of Lake Tanganyika. Even if part of this segment did settle there, it is certain that the whole of segment 7 did not. Hatchell gives genealogical information for the group of Ngoni at present near Runzewe, Kahama District, Tanganyika Territory, which links them to Ntabeni and segment 7. Stanley describes an Ngoni group which attacked Ujiji and was allied to Mirambo, and in the light of Hatchell's account it is certain that Stanley is here referring to part, if not the whole, of segment 7. This interpretation is made by Fraser, and is in accord with Young and Chibambo. Hence we may conclude that the main body of segment 7 went north on the east side of Lake Tanganyika and eventually settled in Kahama District.

Part of segment 7 may have split off and gone elsewhere, possibly to the west of the lake. Hatchell, in his account of the Kahama group, does not mention Ngodoyi, son of Ntabeni, and it is possible that he may have led a group elsewhere although Rangeley states that it was his following that reached Kahama. Hatchell and Winterbottom write of an abortive expedition by Zwangendaba to the western shores of Lake Tanganyika but make no mention of a group remaining there.

This interpretation conflicts with Elmslie, who says that segment 7 was west of the lake while the group encountered by Stanley were a separate group led by Ntutu. Elmslie does not say who Ntutu was, but it is clear from the context that he does not refer to Ntutu Mpezeni. Hatchell does not mention the name Ntutu in his genealogies. Elmslie may, therefore, have been misled on this point.

The only other writer to mention a group west of the lake is Poole, who says that Ntabeni settled west of the lake in Nyamwezi country, where they were known as Watuta, and, co-operating with the Ruga-Ruga, were encountered by Livingstone and Stanley in 1871. Since in 1871 Livingstone, Stanley, the Ruga-Ruga, and the main body of Nyamwezi were all east of the lake, it appears that Poole intended to write 'east', not 'west'.

Colle refers to contact between the Ngoni and Luba, but the section of Luba with whom the Ngoni fought had crossed from the Congo to the east side of Lake Tanganyika before encountering the Ngoni. The existence of an Ngoni group on the west side of Lake Tanganyika seems therefore to be doubtful.[30]

Fraser says that Mgayi led the main body, including Mpezeni, Mombera, and Mperembe, as far north as Victoria Nyanza. Finding the country poor, he led them back towards Sukuma country, but died on the way. Fraser is followed by Poole, Suga and Winterbottom. It is perhaps significant that Fraser does not

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[30] Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 25-7; Murray, *Handbook*, p. 29; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 468; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 94; Stewart, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 268; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Hatchell, 'Tanganyika territory' (1935), pp. 69 f.; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, i, p. 490; Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Young, *History*, p. 113; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 25; Colle, *Baluba*, p. 63; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 60.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

mention Nxaben's group as reaching Victoria Nyanza, and it may be that he has 173
merely attributed this exploit to the wrong group. Such an interpretation would
be in accord with the accounts of Elmslie, Young, Chibambo and Rangeley, and 114
following them, Bryant and Tew. All these writers imply that the main body of 167
Ngoni did not go farther north than Ufipa. It also provides a more reasonable 668
chronology, for by Fraser's version we have to assume that within only about five
years the main body of Ngoni traversed Tanganyika Territory from south to north
and then back again. Lancaster is inconclusive on this point.[illegible]

7. *Mpezeni's kingdom*

Mgayi did not live long as regent and after his death the senior 173
lieutenant of segment 1 made Mpezeni chief. There was a considerable 173
shortage of food at the time and this, combined with 167
dissension in the tribe about the succession, appears to have 668
precipitated a further split. A follower of Zwangendaba called
Zulu Gama, whose position in the segmentary organization seems 643
not to have been recorded, led his segment off to the east, where in 631
the vicinity of Songea he met with that group of Maseko Ngoni
which we have mentioned earlier, and who probably broke off
from the Ndebele some time prior to 1835. For a while the two
groups operated as one but soon they split apart. Some people
stayed on in Songea District, others went south and eventually
rounded the southern end of Lake Nyasa to arrive in the Dedza
District of southern Nyasaland, where they remain to-day.

Of those that remained behind under Mpezeni, the principal 173
cleavage was between segments 2, 4, 5 and 6, all led by Mpezeni, 167
on the one side and segment 3 with the headquarters of segment 1 631
on the other. Led by the senior lieutenant of segment 1, the latter 643
group moved off to the south-east while Mpezeni moved west.
While in the country of the Bisa, segment 2 broke off from Mpezeni
and after settling for a while in Bemba country as an independent
group it eventually went back to join segment 3. Mpezeni, with
segments 4, 5 and 6, went south and eventually arrived in Fort
Jameson District. His leadership of these segments seems not to
have been questioned, but in the other group the senior lieutenant
of segment 1 at first supported the headquarters of segment 3
against the claims to the chieftainship made by segment 8. Mtwalo,
the son of Zwangendaba who had been put in charge of the headquarters
of segment 3, protested, however, that the real head of
that segment was Mwambera, head of segment 8, who thus became
chief.

[illegible] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 474; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 18; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 27; Young, *History*, pp. 115f.; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 29f.; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 467; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 94; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 86; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 65.

When it arrived in Fort Jameson District Mpezeni's group
173 consisted of three segments 4, 5 and 6, all of which belonged to the
167 now dispersed segment 1. By virtue of his claim to be the heir of
631 Zwangendaba, and hence the lord of segment 1, Mpezeni exercised
643 control over segments 6 and 7 as well as over his own segment 4.
It appears that the same procedure was adopted with these adhering segments as was followed earlier with the small groups of independent refugees who joined Zwangendaba near Delagoa Bay. For purposes of organisation they were attached to the headquarters of the highest segment. As the headquarters of segment 1 had gone away with Mwambera's group, the senior segment headquarters in Mpezeni's group was now that of segment 4, and it was to this village that people from all three segments came to the first fruits festival, and which we may perhaps regard as the capital of Mpezeni's State.

It so happened that in 1898 when British Administration began in this area, the headquarters and most of the dependent villages of segments 6 and 7 lay on the east side of the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, and the bulk of segment 4 on the west. We might expect that at any place at which this Ngoni group settled, the three major segments of the State would occupy roughly distinct areas, and that as segments 6 and 7 were smaller than segment 4 they might lie on the fringe of the settlement. What appears to have happened is that the Ngoni moved eastwards into that region where the Europeans first found them, and that they were contemplating moving farther east into the present Nyasaland. Segments 6 and 7 were in the van of this advance, and the watershed, which here runs very roughly north and south, happened by accident to separate them from segment 4. This accident has been of considerable importance in the subsequent history of Mpezeni's group,
[649] for while segment 4 found itself in the territory of North-Eastern
Rhodesia, administered by the British South Africa Company, segments 5 and 6 formed part of the Nyasaland Protectorate, under the Foreign Office. Thus the State was again divided into two, and the Native Authorities which have developed belong to two separate hierarchies of administration.

In this study we are particularly concerned with the fortunes
173 of segment 4, in Northern Rhodesia. Although Mpezeni was the
643 head of this segment, it seems that his physiological mother was not
693 lady of the segment, for she was only a junior linked co-wife.
644 However this woman was promoted to independent status by the
595 formation, within segment 4, of segment 11 (Dingeni) of which she
became the lady. The senior man in this segment was her second

son, while her first son Mpezeni remained head of segment 4 as 173
he had been borne by her linked senior. Traditionally, a junior 643
linked co-wife who had borne sons that had been taken over by her 643
linked senior might be rewarded for her services by the formation of 644
her own segment, to which she took her youngest son, and the 595
disposition of sons in segments 4 and 11 was in accord with this principle. Another wife of Zwangendaba who was attached to segment 4 was given her own segment 12 (Mkuzweni) in which she lived with two linked juniors and other quasi-related dependants. A lieutenant of segment 4 made his own inferior segment 9 (Cikenkheni).

At the next generation level Mpezeni created segment 10 (Loangeni) for his great wife and later established two subsidiary levies of wives in segments 14 (Fombeni) and 15 (Cimpinga). Within one of these, segment 14, a junior wife made her own segment 17 (Ngiyelweni) and Mpezeni placed another wife in the headquarters of segment 4, in accordance with the custom by which the heir to any large segment placed one of his wives in the headquarters of that segment. Finally, in each of segments 10 and 11, a lieutenant broke out of the headquarters to found his own segment, namely 13 (Tondweni) and 16 (Falaseni) respectively. Many other segments, large and small, were created but we have now mentioned all the segments under Mpezeni's control which later became the nuclei of counties in the Native Authority system and whose relative positions are shown in Diagram 1.

8. *Foreign policy*

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are described by pre-conquest 173
travellers as living during the 1890s in a compact area surrounded
by a belt of uninhabited country, beyond which were the tribes 361
they raided. It seems probable that this spatial arrangement was 721
not followed consistently throughout their history and that at various times and places the Ngoni came to some agreement with their neighbours whereby they either settled among them or established a settled rule over them. Thus Young, writing of the period 1835–9, says that the Ngoni settled among the Senga (Nsenga). Chibambo, however, says of the same period that the Ngoni 'captured many Senga without difficulty'.[20] The evidence is more definite for the period 1860–80, so far as Mwambera's
group is concerned. Chibambo lists the tribes conquered by 173
Mwambera in this period and adds: 'After overcoming them the 636
Ngoni acted wisely; they did not break up local rule, or ways of 727

[20] Young, *History*, p. 111; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 22.

423 society. This was not so among the Ngoni. We know little about
the way in which rights in cultivated and grazing-lands, hunting-
rights and rights to water were distributed in the old Ngoni State,
but if the present position is any guide, it seems likely that there
was no well-developed system of land-holding. After dwelling in
[361] any one area for five years or so, the tribe moved on, partly because
[311] the fertility of the soil had been exhausted and partly for other
reasons. Thus rights to land did not endure; land itself was
expendable. What endured was merely the pattern of residential
settlement, the arrangement of people in clusters and divisions and
villages. Men and women lived where they belonged in the segmentary
residential system, and relative geographical position did not
determine, but was determined by, political affiliation.

557
651 over natural resources. It is true that cattle were valuable, but
231 even they appear to have been eaten rather more often than in many
tribes in which cattle are a form of wealth and investment rather
[264] than a regular item of diet. Furthermore, there was the doctrine
[422] that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, so that village
[643] headmen with cattle in their byres held them, as it were, only by
favour of the chief. The principal index of power was the number
of a man's dependants. Political struggles were essentially not
[644] struggles to control wealth but to enjoy the support of followers.
The main source of dependants was from raiding, and hence the
[727] allocation of captives was crucial to the working of the social
system.

Fraser writes of the northern Nyasaland Ngoni, that warriors
727 kept their own captives.[1] This does not seem to have been the
usual procedure among the Fort Jameson group. Although some
informants spoke as if they, or their forebears, had been actually
taken by the person who became their lord, others said that in
[643] general all captives belonged to the Paramount Chief, and that he
could allocate them as he wished; usually, however, he allocated
them to the warriors who had captured them. It was a specific
privilege of regional governors to keep their own captives. It seems
probable that the Paramount Chief's allocations were made to the
heads of segments to which the warriors belonged, for many of my
informants were said to have been captured by a few people, some
of whom are described by contemporary travellers as generals and
war-leaders, and who are unlikely to have made many front-line
captures themselves. Moreover, it seems that on small raids
[721] organized by the head of a major segment, not on a national scale,

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[1] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 33.

captives were retained within the segment. In later years, at least, 727
small-scale raiding organised by segment heads went on without the
Paramount Chief's knowledge and it seems unlikely under those [724]
conditions that captives would have been sent in to him.

There is confirmatory evidence from other Ngoni groups.
Hodgson wrote of the Dowa group that a warrior who had captured
three or more people had one returned to him by the chief,[1] from
which we may infer that they were at the disposal of the chief. For
the Southern Ngoni, who are not so closely related to the Fort
Jameson group as are those in northern Nyasaland and Dowa
District, Read wrote that the Paramount Chief had a monopoly [643]
of slaves taken in war and that he distributed these to successful
warriors, his wives and his relatives.[2]

Cattle were handled in much the same way as captives. There 231
was a dogma that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, but 412
they were dispersed among the different villages and kept in the 643
byres there. The lord of a major segment had effective control of 727
the cattle in his own village and, when he chose to exercise it, in the
other villages of his segment as well. When the Paramount Chief
visited a village, cattle were killed in his honour and he was praised
as the giver of the feast, but in the chief's absence the head of the
village decided when beasts were to be killed. A lord appointed his
lieutenants to look after his cattle as well as his people. When cattle
had been taken on a raid, they were driven back to Ngoniland and
then allocated to a lord.

Cattle for bridewealth were provided for a man by his lord.
However it seems possible that a large proportion of the marriages 573
made by politically unimportant people were not ratified by the 231
passage of cattle.[3]

Such evidence as there is suggests that the Ngoni consumed 231
their cattle faster than many similar cattle people and, as with 262
dependants, they captured cattle more than they reared them. 727
People speak of the days before the conquest as a time when they
lived entirely on meat and beer. Poole suggests that the Ngoni
produced little or no food in their own country,[4] and while this is
plainly contradicted by contemporary evidence, it is probable that
they did rely on raiding to supplement their supplies of cattle and
cereals, and that therefore many captured cattle were used as food.
Thus cattle themselves were a short-term asset and the control of

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[1] Hodgson, 'Dowa District', p. 133.
[2] Read, 'Standards of Living', p. 20.
[3] cf. Barnes, *Marriage*, pp. 7-8.
[4] Poole, 'Human geography of Lundazi and Petauke', p. 13.

557 and in other situations that which was founded last. The head-
597 quarters of the highest segment was in some sense capital of the
611 nation, yet chieftainship had already passed from it and it was less
621 important in other ways than the headquarters founded by the
[643] reigning chief. This apparent contradiction applied within every large segment. We have endeavoured to isolate these different contexts by our distinction between primal and residual segments, but as soon as we attempt to arrange villages or bevies of wives in a linear order without reference to the relationship of their associated segments to one another, the contradiction reappears.

A clear and accepted sequence of heirs would have been
621 appropriate to a segmentary system in which segments continued to
611 hold together in all circumstances. Ngoni segments did not do this, and the simple linear sequence of heirs was lacking. The successive formation of inferior segments implied increased structural separation between the first inferior segment to be formed and the headquarters, and hence less likelihood that the former would provide the main heir. As in lineage systems, the farther back the point of departure from the main line the greater the structural separation from it. But whereas in lineage systems it is the junior lines which are continually diverging from the main stem, in the Ngoni system the main heir was the first to break away from his father, who remained longer in close contact with his junior sons. Seniority within the newly formed undivided segment implied early differentiation within it, and hence early separation from its headquarters. Thus, the general principle of increasing separation with the passage of time, together with the particular principle of segment formation in order of seniority, combined to make a system of great flexibility despite essential regularity and uniformity. On the death of each segment head there was a shift of power within his segment and to some extent a formal recognition of the structural separation which had proceeded gradually during his lifetime. The headquarters founded by successive heads of segments persisted as the home of groups whose interests they symbolized. The history of the segments and of the nation itself was embodied in the relationships enduring between successive headquarters.

When a small segment was founded it was usually manned by
557 people drawn from the rump of the immediately superior segment,
611 that is, from those men and women in the superior segment who
621 had not already been allocated to some inferior segment within it.
However it is clear that this rule was often over-ridden. When the
[622] lord of a large segment formed a new inferior segment for a wife or
son he was able to command the services of everyone within his

segment, even of those who had been allocated to existing inferior 557
segments. If he thought fit he could shift them from one inferior 611
segment to another within his own segment. This process was 621
particularly relevant to the formation of new segments for the great [622]
wives of men who were the heirs or lords of large segments. A new lord, making his great wife's segment after the death of his father, did not confine himself to the rump of his father's segment but selected men he thought he could trust from anywhere within his father's primal segment, whether or not they had made segments of their own. Similarly a lord sometimes took a man who occupied an unimportant position in the segment of one of his wives and promoted him to be lieutenant in a newly formed bevy. The more important the lord or heir, the greater the structural distance his dependants could be moved. Thus while the processes by which
the Paramount Chief and a man with only a few followers made [619]
segments for bevies of wives were formally the same, the consequences were quite different. In the former case, many hundreds of people were involved and many key men were shifted in their allegiance in order to provide the new segment with lieutenants and followers. In the latter, few people were concerned and the event was not of general interest. The formal processes remained the same at all levels in society, but what in one case was essentially a political action in which a Paramount Chief acted as head of a State was in the other largely a matter of domestic reorganisation. It is characteristic of the Ngoni State that the transition from one state of affairs to the other was a gradual one.

Occasionally a man moved himself from one segment to 621
another on his own initiative. This happened only infrequently 557
and it seems probable that it was only when a man who had quarrelled with his own segment sought asylum with the reigning chief that a move of this kind could be made. Chibambo records an incident in which many men transferred from their former segments to one newly formed by the reigning chief, but adds that later they returned to their old segments. A similar incident from the Fort Jameson group is noted below.* Despite these exceptions it nevertheless remains true that for the most part a man's affiliation to his segment was fixed and could be altered only by the actions of his political superiors.

We have spoken of the formation of segments, but not yet of their disappearance. Many minor segments faded away because their members died or because they were moved elsewhere by a lord. Sometimes a segment ceased to be an effective social unit could assemble for hunting and fighting, similar to the sectors attached to chiefly villages among the Zulu.[a] [561/ 701]

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* Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 33; see p. 140.

Women were organized into parallel age-sets, led by daughters of the royal line and other important young women. Men and women of corresponding sets danced together on ceremonial occasions, and among themselves women in a regiment used to fight 'to see who was strongest'. After marriage a woman ceased to participate actively in these regimental dances and fights. [562]

The most important national festival was the first fruits ceremony held annually at the headquarters of Zwangendaba's great wife's segment. This was organized on an age-set basis, and there was much competitive dancing. Special songs were sung, and on conclusion of the ceremony a large national raid might be undertaken. 561/ 796 [726]

The Ngoni depended largely on the efficiency of their army for the continual inflow of captives on which the strength and continued existence of the State depended. The age-set system provided them with an efficient army, and in addition was a means whereby the centrifugal tendency inherent in their segmentary system was partly checked. 561/ 701/ 727]

Each major segment had members in each regiment, and each regiment was drawn from every major segment. It provided the central authority with an instrument by which the segments could be held together, for on national raids the young men of every segment were in danger. No one segment, save the State itself, could claim the glory for a successful battle, but only the regiments involved. The Paramount Chief did not possess a complete monopoly of force, for we have already noted that sometimes segment heads organized their own raids. But these were small affairs, 561/ 701/ 621 [613]

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[a] cf. Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', p. 31.

(a) Mpezeni I's regiment. Lancaster says Mpezeni I was in Mayonge. [116]
(b) Nsingo's regiment.
(c) Mpezeni II's regiment.
(d) Mafu. Wiese and some of my informants support the earlier position; Lancaster and others of my informants support the later one.
(e) Maipiso. Lancaster and one of my informants support the earlier position; a more reliable informant supports the later one.

Wiese gives two other regimental names. His Madoda or Madoda is surely the status term madoda, meaning 'mature, respected and important men'. His other regimental name, Madjinga or Madjinga, is probably also a status term, meaning 'very old men'. [illegible] has the names [illegible]. [553]

Sources: twenty-three independent informants, offering partly conflicting accounts; Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Conclusão', p. 199; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 80; [illegible], 'Mission', p. 39.

i[Footnotes pertain to Table III, page 38.—Analyst]

63/64 to which some men definitely belonged and others definitely did not. When matters of national importance needed decision, they were discussed at a meeting attended by at least all the lieutenants of the various levies of the Paramount Chief, and all the spokesmen mentioned in accounts of meetings with Europeans during the later period and who can now be identified belong to this category. It seems possible that the heads of other major segments also took part in these discussions, and that other men listened to them even if they did not take part.

641 627 644 The role played in tribal affairs by brothers and junior sons of the Paramount Chief is not clear. The Paramount Chief did not himself actively intervene in many domestic matters until they were specifically referred to him by his lieutenants, and it seems possible that within their own segments other members of the royal house behaved in the same manner. At least nowadays some aristocratic headmen, not necessarily members of the royal family, behave in this aloof way. The head of the segment, like the head of the [622 624] village, represents its common interest, its unity, and cannot intervene on his own initiative in the affairs of his people. He lies beyond the reach of their quarrels and disputes, and has to be brought into or informed of them in his judicial capacity by his lieutenants. Wiese says that previously members of the royal house were the real governors and judges in their segments, but that by 1895 in three cases out of four effective power had passed to their lieutenants and that they were merely 'show chiefs'.[illegible] This observation appears to confirm the thesis that with increased segmentation effective control passed from the head of the primal segment to the heads of the inferior segments within it, leaving the head of the primal segment as ceremonial head; but we do not know what evidence if any Wiese had about earlier conditions. It seems probable that before Wiese's time, as well as during it, the heads of large segments ruled through, as well as with the approval of, their lieutenants. So strongly does this principle still apply to the office of Paramount Chief that when recently a brawl began at a beer party attended [579] by the Chief, he at once ran away, lest in the melée he might be forced to take direct action.[illegible]

62/63 Thus we see that in the Ngoni residential system, although segments were enduring social groups and the pattern of relationships once laid down could not be altered in formal terms, yet in fact there was a continual movement in the disposition of political

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[illegible] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.

[illegible] Gluckman reports similar conditions among the Lozi, where there is a maxim, 'The chief is not a policeman'. See his 'Lozi of North-Western Rhodesia'.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

114/ is quite possible for the subdivisions of a centralized state to have
12/ a segmentary social organization'.[illegible]

This unfortunate muddle is not helped by the use of the adjective pyramidal to characterize the social organization of primitive states, for when we need a visual symbol for a segmentary system as found in stateless societies, we use a triangle or pyramid.[illegible] There is, on reflection, an obvious difference between one office-holder having authority over a number of subordinates and one segment containing lesser segments within itself; but this difference is obscured by the similarities of spatial metaphor.

Under these circumstances, it seems best to eschew the use of pyramidal or segmentary as unqualified descriptions of either group of societies, and to follow the authors' alternative suggestion by speaking of Group A societies as primitive states, and of those in Group B as stateless societies. The presence or absence of a segmentary political system may now be handled as a separate question, providing a classification cutting across the division into states and stateless societies.

642
We have spoken throughout this chapter of Ngoni society as a state, and this usage is in accord with the definition of a state given
641 here. The Paramount Chief with his lieutenants exercised supreme
622 authority, there was a highly organized administrative machine, and there was an organized method of settling disputes within the
552 State. There were only slight variations in wealth except in the control of cattle, but privilege and status were expressed in the
559 residential system and were inseparable from the exercise of power and authority.

12/
The presence or absence of a segmentary political system can itself be divided into two questions; was there a segmentary
63/ system, and if so, was it the political system? If we have used the term segment correctly, then it is clear that the Ngoni did have a segmentary system, and that political relations within, but not without, the State were largely regulated by it. However, when Fortes and Evans-Pritchard use this word segmentary in their typology they are referring exclusively to lineage segments, or to major groups very similar in form to lineages. A segment of the Ngoni residential system was not quite the same as a segment of a lineage, and we must therefore examine what may usefully be meant by the term segmentary as applied to a social system before we can answer these questions.

[illegible] Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. [illegible].

[illegible] e.g. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. [illegible], and Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. 34, diagram.

631 procedure. Segment 2 broke away from segment 3 and later [illegible] rejoined it peaceably, but other instances of fission were accom- [illegible] panied by fighting. The leader of each divergent group rallied his [649] warriors, the one to protect his flight, the other to pursue and annihilate the departing traitors. If the flight was successful, the leader of the new State assumed the salutations and marks of rank [illegible] of a Paramount Chief and held his own first fruits ceremony. The [illegible] internal organization of his State and of the one he had left continued on the same lines as before. This seems to have been the sequence of events when Zulu Gama, Ciwele Ndhlovu, and segment 7 each broke away from the main body. When the residue of segment 1 broke away from segment 4, the dissident group destroyed the crops of those who remained, but Chibambo does not mention fighting on that occasion.[illegible] There are two possible instances of a divergent group going away to join some other state. Segment 7 was associated for a while with Mirambo and his Ruga-ruga, and Zulu Gama joined forces in Tanganyika with the Maseko Ngoni, now in southern Nyasaland.[illegible] But neither of these alliances lasted long. As we would expect there is less evidence for the unsuccessful attempts at fission which it seems reasonable to assume must have taken place. I did, however, collect one clear account of a regional governor who was thought by Zwangendaba to be lagging behind on the migration with the intention of deserting with his segment. Zwangendaba sent an army against the regional [664] governor, who was killed. His segment, under the charge of his son, was forced to live in the village of a lieutenant of Zwangendaba's father. It is said that Zwangendaba continued to punish the would-be rebels by drafting members of the segment to other parts of the residential system from time to time.

[illegible] Thus in one sense the State was held together by armed force. Certainly there were mystical values associated with the chieftain- 672 ship. It is now difficult to gain much precise information on this topic but it is apparent from present-day practice and from com- [649] parative evidence that the chiefly office was hedged about with mystical sanctions and that the chief was no mere secular ruler. Yet it is also clear that these values were associated with the office of chieftainship rather than with the particular occupant of the office, and that they were linked to successful military achievement. We might also suggest that because so many men became Ngoni only after they had grown up in quite different cultures, mystical

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[illegible] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 24.

[illegible] Stanley, *Livingstone*, p. 289, and *Dark Continent*, i, p. 422; Hatchell, 'August', *passim*.

619 brought more support for his lord; but as the segment expanded
631 his chances of setting himself up as a chief increased and his loyalty
became less certain. Thus the appeal to armed force came only as
one phase in a general struggle for power carried on simultaneously
at many different levels and by a variety of methods. The conflicting
ambitions of each lord, each a potential rival of the State,
[669] combined to maintain the State and to reduce the likelihood of
successful fission.

The conflict between identification with one's lord and
692 differentiation from him, between what Fortes has called the
643 centripetal and centrifugal forces in a segmentary society, is brought
681 out clearly in the enforcement of the death penalty. Wiese implies
631 that only the Paramount Chief had the legal power to sentence
adulterers to death and that this offence was the ground for the
[684] majority of death sentences.[88] However, my own informants stated
that senior lieutenants did sometimes sentence people to death
without referring the matter to the Paramount Chief. The Chief
would later come to hear of an incident of this kind and would then
either praise the lieutenant for acting in the interests of the Chief
and for ruling his people well, or else abuse him for usurping the
powers of the Chief and warn him to be more careful in future. A
successful lieutenant might establish his own major segment and
eventually his own State; but if he moved in this direction prematurely
[687] he was likely to be killed for treason. This same inherent
conflict exists to-day, albeit with different groupings and different
sanctions.

7. *Stability*

611 The most striking differences between the residential system
and most lineage systems were the high rate of segmentation, and
619 the flexibility of the system. Segmentation in a lineage system
178 depends basically on the unalterable processes of human reproduction
and maturation. Until a man's children become adults
his agnatic segment cannot split. The Ngoni, by recruiting many
[161] of their members when they were already grown up, were able to
increase their population at a prodigious rate and with it the degree
[591] of segmentation of the State. As the Ngoni army increased in size,
so it became easier for them to capture more people, so that what
we may describe as an inflationary spiral in population was set up.
The Ngoni State was like a snowball which grows larger and larger
as it is pushed from place to place, but still remains uniform
throughout. At last it becomes unwieldly and must be broken

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[88] Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 471-2, and 'Geschichte', pp. 189-90.

641 to which she had belonged before her marriage, and in particular
602 sent some of her children to her parents to be cared for until
[603] adolescence. In this way a web of affinal ties was built up, cutting
across both the residential and age-set systems and acting against
the fissile tendencies in the former.[illegible]

The ties that bound a man to his age-mates and to his
561 matrilateral kin cut across those linking him to his lord and to his
602 dependants. Nevertheless, it seems probable that even without this
arrangement of cross-cutting ties, the segmentary system itself was
not easily fissile. The State as a whole was primarily held together
64 by its enemies, the external enemies who made it unsafe for small
182 bodies of Ngoni to venture across the no-man's-land on their own,
and the internal rivals who competed for the Paramount Chief's
favour and who bided their time until they could lead off their
major segments as independent states. The flexibility of the
system allowed men to achieve power within it, and provided a way
of balancing the interests of different groups, as well as making
possible the few instances of fission that did occur. The Paramount
643 Chief was powerful, not only because of his mystical attributes and
of the military successes of his people, but because he was the
government. Through him the common interests of the tribe as a
whole were expressed in an organized manner as against the
interests of minority groups. Despite its segmentary form, Ngoni
society was a State.

In later years two changes took place which increased the
177 stability of the State, at least from a short-term point of view. In
the first place, the external environment altered due to the penetration
into the central African hinterland by Arabs, Portuguese
and British. With this topic we shall deal in Chapter III. The
178 second change, which seems to have taken place among the Ngoni
631 of northern Nyasaland, was in the internal organization of the
State. In that particular group, neighbouring tribes were brought
[636] under subjection as political groups, not as individuals, and the
conquered peoples were either allowed to retain their own chiefs
as subordinate rulers or else were attached in large batches to
various important headquarters. A distinction emerged between
[563] the aristocracy and the conquered peoples, and the army was no
[721] longer simply the aggregation of age-sets but included quasi-professionals
supplied by a near-by unconquered Cewa chief
Mwase Kasungu, who were armed with guns. Similar changes
may well have taken place among the Ngoni groups in Tanganyika,
who were more closely involved with the slave trade to the coast

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[illegible] See the discussion of affinal linking in my *Marriage*, pp. [illegible].

1;Barnes K-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

Mashanga. Swann appears to have believed Mpezeni sincerely wished 175
to stop raiding into the Protectorate although his people continued 439
to do so.[illegible] 648

The cleavage within the tribe between Chief and people 685
was attributed by Wiese to the large number of captives who had 727
been incorporated.[illegible] We may well ask whether there had not 631
always been considerable fluidity in the distribution of power 175
among the different branches of the royal house and their supporters. After the death of Zwangendaba there was factional
fighting, and at least once on the march north, about 1840, there [578]
was a purge in which the original members of the tribe, presumably Ndwandwe by origin, killed off many of the more recently incorporated Tsonga who had been promoted at their expense.[illegible] These struggles show clearly that the formal arrangement of segments
within the residential system did not preclude struggles for power [662]
within that system. The decline in power of Mpezeni and the rise of his heir must indeed be seen as part of the normal operation of the system rather than the result of manipulation or of unusual external conditions.

Wiese anticipated that there would be fighting on the death of 175
Mpezeni.[illegible] Some idea of the way in which the fight would have 643
gone in the new circumstances of European contact is given by 648
Wiese's statement, in 1891, that Nsemane would not submit to Nsingu on Mpezeni's death and that he would be the best successor as far as the interests of Portugal were concerned.[illegible] Later, Deare remarked that the 'king had two other sons, younger than Tsinko, named Zamase and Madzimai, whom I never saw, but I learnt much about them and had fixed my eye on the former for the succession if anything happened'.[illegible] When British troops had already begun their advance on Ngoni, Manning, their commander, hoped that the tribe would split into factions, some of which would side with him.[illegible]

Fighting between rival claimants for the throne was likely even
without external backing for one candidate. We have only to turn [71]
to Zululand for an analogous situation in which there was fighting 643

[illegible] Swann's report for 1896, *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 7 (15 April 1897), p. 1.

[illegible] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 183.

[illegible] See p. 19. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 94; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 23; cf. Young, *History*, p. 112, who stresses the role played by witch-finders in this incident.

[illegible] As reported by Warton in June 1898, cited by Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.

[illegible] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 495.

[illegible] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. In modern spelling, Nsingu, Nsemane, and Madzimawe.

[illegible] ibid., iv, 39.

171 643 between rival heirs even while the occupant of the throne was still alive. The brothers Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fought for the heirship while their father Mpande was still chief.[illegible]

175 643 648 669 The apparent ineffectiveness of Mpezeni's rule may well have been due to the increasing segmentation of the State as it expanded and to the growing differentiation of interest between one major segment and another. As it happened, there was no civil war and the tribe did not split, at least not in these terms. A cleavage in the royal house did reveal itself later, in 1903, after British rule had begun, when Madzimawi tried to take the name of Zwangendaba and was opposed by the supporters of Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu. But by then the form of the State was already determined by political forces other than the balanced opposition of segments. It is significant of the changed situation that Madzimawi did not send his armed followers against the new Mpezeni to challenge his succession. Instead he applied to the Native Commissioner for permission to take the name of his grandfather.[illegible]

Instead of dividing in civil war the whole country united against the European interlopers. Mpezeni alone tried to protect his friend Wiese. The effective cleavage was not between rival heirs but between the Paramount Chief and his people. He was now a man in his sixties who seemed not to want war and who perhaps benefited more than his people from the presents made by Europeans. The Ngoni people continued to believe and teach that fighting was the proper occupation for men. An attempt to exploit this cleavage was made in 1897 when Wiese, perhaps remembering his earlier attempt to serve Portugal and Britain simultaneously, offered his services to the B.S.A. Company. Forbes thought that if Wiese was given troops, he would be supported by Mpezeni, who would then be in a position to hold Nsingu and the Ngoni warriors in check.[illegible] But this plan was overtaken by events.

64 721 175 439 648 We saw in the previous chapter that the organization of the State was based on warfare, not only on war as an activity bringing prestige to successful warriors but also on war as a method of recruitment to the ever-widening segments of the residential system. Without warfare to eliminate the unsuccessful and to bring promotion and dependants to those who survived, the system could not keep going. It was in no sense inevitable that the Fort Jameson Ngoni and the British should fight; we have only to turn to the

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[illegible] Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', pp. 35-6, and *Malinowski's Sociological Theories*, pp. 19-20; Krige, *Social system of the Zulu*, p. 19.

[illegible] See pp. 139 *f*.

[illegible] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 14.

439 regarded as a territory which would supply Native labour and, 648 possibly, cattle to the south. Little attempt was made to develop [464] the resources of the territory itself, and indeed in so far as Mpezeni's country was concerned, the B.S.A. Company had ceded its rights to do so to the North Charterland. The general pattern of White-Black participation in economic activity was taken over from South Africa, whence many of the early settlers came, and there was no attempt to train a Black *élite* to perform skilled tasks. Apart from the Ngoni and the Bemba, the Black population of North-Eastern Rhodesia had been taken under the administration of the B.S.A. Company without serious fighting and their chiefs did not have the opportunity to become leaders of opposition against the Whites. The Administration wished to keep its expenses low and found that [643] the cheapest way of running the country was through the [622] indigenous chiefs and headmen. Hence a system of administration grew up which was in many respects similar to that later known as Indirect Rule.[4] Chiefs and village headmen were placed under a statutory obligation to preserve law and order among their people. Some of them were paid a few shillings a year for their labours and were given ceremonial spears of office. There were no formally constituted Native courts, as there are now, but minor cases of all [692] kinds were heard by indigenous tribunals, and the authority of these tribunals appears to have been upheld by the Administration in so far as their judgments were regarded as maintaining law and order. Indeed on occasion the Administration indicated to chiefs what kinds of cases they should deal with and what should be referred to the Administration. The collection of tax, one of the [651] most important activities of the early administrators, was carried out with the assistance, or the enforced co-operation, of the Black [464] leaders. Labour recruiters appear to have operated in much the same kind of way. Thus the commoner in his village found that to a considerable extent access for him to these new White agencies was along the traditional chain of authority through headman and chief. The missions were to a greater extent concerned with [797] establishing relationships with individuals without reference to their position in indigenous society, but even they tried occasionally to work through chiefs and other notables. Thus despite the changed situation, the indigenous order was utilized by the White invaders and in so far as that order was useful to them they endeavoured to uphold it.

177 464 439 648 Nevertheless, the encouragement given by the Administration to recruiters of labour from the south, and the economic necessity

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[4] cf. Hailey, *African Survey*, pp. 452-3.

After the war an age-set was formed but its activities conflicted 591
with the demands of the churches and schools and it was not a 701
success. No further attempts have been made to carry on the 648
system. Ngoni now say, 'What need have we of regiments now that
there are no other tribes for us to fight?'

2. *White control*

Apart from the squabble over cattle, the surrender of Mpezeni 648
on 9 February 1898 marked the end of the Ngoni war. The Nyasaland 727
troops did not pursue the leaders who fled, although Brake moved Mpezeni to the vicinity of Fort Manning. In May he wrote, perhaps over-optimistically, that in the central part of Ngoniland rebuilding had begun.[7]

It is clear that at first the Ngoni acquiesced in their defeat. 648
Whereas prior to the war Whites had lived in their country on sufferance, now their right to be there was not challenged. Only a [644]
few months after the war Harding arrived, recruiting police for service in Southern Rhodesia. He was received in a 'most friendly manner by the chief in charge who gave an ocular demonstration of his loyalty by voluntarily and immediately handing over to my charge 200 of his young men for my newly formed Police Force . . .'.[8] After the death of Mpezeni I, his lieutenants waited the traditional 643
period of a year. Mpezeni's heir Nsingu and his wife Mkucwa had 648
both been shot during the war, and in September 1901 the lieutenants petitioned the Administration to appoint their eldest son, Ciloa, aged about 10 years, as chief. On 23 July 1903 the Native Commissioner held a meeting at which Madzimawi, son of Mpezeni I in the residue of segment 4, asked to be allowed to take the name Zwangendaba.[9] Thus even at that early date the over-riding authority of the Administration was acknowledged in matters concerning the chieftainship.

The establishment of an Administration based on Fort Jameson 648
in 1898 was governed, in so far as the British legal system was concerned, by the legislation consolidated in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act 1890.[10] Relations between the Administration and its African subjects were controlled by the Africa Order in Council 1889.[11] This was superseded by later Orders in 1900, 1911 and 1924,[12] marking the delimitation of North-Eastern Rhodesia as a separate

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[7] 1098; ante, fn. 69.
[8] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 82.
[9] *Reports on the Administration*, 1900-2, p. 408; see pp. 159f.
[10] 53 & 54 Vict., c. 37.
[11] *S.R. & O.*, Rev., 1890, iii, pp. 250-332.
[12] *S.R. & O.*, 85 of 1900, 438 of 1911 and 324 of 1924.

These decisions have been taken within frames of reference beyond [177] the reach of our analysis and beyond the reach of Ngoni persuasion. 648 We are here concerned with the way in which Ngoni society has been adapted and has adapted itself to these diverse intrusions from outside.

5. *Chiefs*

In the old residential system there was no definite category of 622 persons whom we regard as chiefs. In the literature the lords of 681 major segments are sometimes called chiefs, sometimes indunas 643 (i.e. lieutenants), but it is clear that the importance of any parti- 648 cular segment varied from one time and situation to another, and [621] that the only constant relations between positions in the social structure were vertical ones, between lord and dependant, and not horizontal, between persons at the same level in the hierarchy but in different parts of it. The administrative scheme introduced by the Whites provided for horizontal categorization as well as vertical grouping. There were to be a definite number of chiefs, district headmen, and later village headmen, whose names would appear on the Administration's files. The only indigenous categories of this kind were those of Paramount Chief and regional governor, and for this reason alone it was inevitable that the relationship between the old and new systems should be complex. Although the young Mpezeni II was not the only person to be called chief, his superior status was always recognized and later received formal ratification in the qualification Paramount. The regional governors may, perhaps, have formed a category of persons at the same level in the old hierarchy, but they were not very numerous, perhaps only a dozen in number, and under the new dispensation some managed to become chiefs or district headmen, while others failed to do so. Village headmen in the old system were lords of segments of many different orders of segmentation and of varying importance. If the large pre-conquest villages had continued, then perhaps their heads might have secured Administrative recognition. As it was, post-conquest settlements were all much smaller and there were more of them.

Apart from these formal considerations, the peculiar circum- 648 stances of the war introduced distortion. Some important people 587 were killed in the fighting, others ran away, and the followers of others were scattered. More significantly, the arrival of the Administration, of traders and missions, provided means whereby people whose segments were of minor importance could advance themselves politically and gain control of large sections of the population.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

According to Coxhead, an Administrative Officer who published in 1914, there were at that time six minor chiefs under the Paramount. Four of these minor chiefs were sons of Mpezeni I.[10] Other Administrative records of the same period refer to ten 'subdivisions'. The Paramount Chief and the chiefs now in charge of counties 4, 14, 15 and 17 are each described as the "important chief" in their subdivisions. The important chief in another subdivision is now not a county chief. The remaining four subdivisions had two chiefs each. Five of these are now county chiefs, one is a Cewa chief, and the remaining two are no longer chiefs. The title "chief" was, however, not applied consistently by the Administration at that time and men who are called chiefs in some documents are called divisional or group headmen in others. In 1920, with the appointment of two new divisional headmen all Ngoniland villages in Northern Rhodesia were divided between ten rulers, not all of whom were called chiefs. Mpezeni II was ruler of one group of villages and Paramount over all ten, and the other nine rulers were the predecessors of the present minor chiefs. These ten groups of villages, and the two corresponding groups in Nyasaland, I have called *counties*. With one exception, each successive county chief has taken the name of his predecessor and this name is often used as the name of the county. 618 622 634 643

4. *County segments*

In each county there is one village known as the important village or capital. Many, but not all, of the villages in a county belong to the residential segment of which the capital is the headquarters. Thus we may speak of a county segment which forms, as it were, the core of the county. The villages that do not belong to the county segment fall into three main types. There are villages belonging to other segments under Mpezeni, there are a few which trace their origin to other Ngoni groups, and there are those which have entered Ngoniland after 1898 and so never formed part of the segmentary residential system. Most villages of the last type have come into Ngoniland from Cewa chiefdoms and some of them claim to have been settled in Ngoniland before the arrival of Mpezeni and to have been driven out by him. An indication of the distribution of villages in Northern Rhodesia counties among these different types is given in Table IV, where the only three counties for which I have the information are examined from this point of view. 652 654

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[10] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, p. 22.

more meticulous than others in such matters as discussing proposed 621
changes of site with the county chief and in reporting important [illegible]
deaths to him. 619

The proportion of villages in each county belonging to other segments under Mpezeni varies from 5 per cent to 21 per cent. There are villages which chose, or were forced, to move away from the chief to whom they were attached in segmentary terms, or else villages belonging to major segments whose heads did not become chiefs. Villages in this category have ties that in certain situations, as when there is a serious quarrel, link them more closely with some other county than with their own. In any county where there are many villages of this kind the solidarity of the county as a social group is not great. The ruling chief has many rivals who seek to divide his county and to become chiefs themselves. We must distinguish here between villages in one county which belong to the segment of another and those interloping villages which belong to one county but are situated in the territory of another. We shall discuss interloping villages later (p. 128) in connexion with the territorial aspect of counties. [566]

In Nyasaland the history of administration has been separate 613
from that of Northern Rhodesia, but the Ngoni population there 629
also has divided itself on segmentary lines. For many years the two 634
principal leaders recognized by the Administration have been the heads of segments 5 and 6, and these segments form the cores of the two counties they control. The two county chiefs are now Native Authorities and join with an adjacent Cewa chief to form the Fort Manning Council of Chiefs. This acts as the Native administrative body for the Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District.

The geographical distribution of the twelve counties, the 631
neighbouring chiefdoms of other tribes, and the tracts of alienated 634
land are shown in Map D.

The twelve county segments, ten in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, are, in the nomenclature of Chapter I, segments 4 to 6 and 9 to 17. We shall refer to counties in the same way by the numbers of the segments corresponding to them. Thus county 4 is the county whose segment is number 4, and so on. County 10 is the Paramount Chief's county. Some of the county segments are primal, others are residual segments left after the formation of primal segments of lower order. The definition of the segment associated with each county is indicated in Table V. This table merely restates information implicit in Diagram 1. The hereditary names of county chiefs are also given.

[Text continues on page 121]

Table V. County Segments

[631]
[634]
[621]

County[1A]	*Specification of county segment*	*Hereditary name of county chief*
4	Residual after formation of segments 9 to 10	Madzimawe
5	Primal	Zulu
6	Primal	Mlonyeni
9	Primal	Mnukwa
10(a)	Residual after formation of segments 13 to 15	Mpezeni
11	Residual after formation of segment 16	Misholo
12	Primal	Mshawa
13	Primal	Kapatamoyo
14	Residual after formation of segment 17	Nzamane
15	Primal	Sayili
16	Primal	Teleka (b)
17	Primal	Maguya

[641]

(a) Paramount Chief's county.

(b) The first chief of this county was known as Mlonyeni. He was succeeded by his brother, who kept his own name of Teleka. The similarity of name with the chief of segment 6 was accidental.

1A [County numbers refer to map on page 120, category 166—Analyst]

The county segments are not all of the same order of segmentation, yet the counties occupy positions of equivalence in the Native Authority. Each of the eleven counties under minor chiefs is, or has been for most of the time, the area under the control of a Subordinate Native Authority and also the area of jurisdiction of [642] a second-class Native Court. According to the *Official Gazette* the [643] Paramount Chief's county appears not to have been under any Subordinate Native Authority, nor does it seem to have been provided with a second-class court, but in some respects action takes place as if there were such an authority and court. The Superior Native Authority is responsible for all ten counties in Northern Rhodesia and there is a first-class Native Court for the same area. Thus the structural alignment of the twelve counties is markedly different from that of the segments corresponding to them. In practice the relations existing between the twelve counties and

[Text continues on page 123]

5. *Relative status of Chiefs*

There was nothing inherent in the residential system which
178 facilitated the emergence of twelve, and only twelve, counties from
631 Mpezeni's people. Each major segment already had a large number
634 of lesser segments within it in 1898, and it was during the unsettled
648 years that followed the conquest, when new schemes of organization were tried out, when fresh occupants were sought for existing posts, and when the spatial distribution of people was being radically altered, that these twelve gradually emerged. Considerations of size do not seem to have been very important, for there is a wide variation in the size of counties. However, with the development of the Native Authority and Native Court, there is an upper limit to
[492] the size of the county which can be served adequately by a single court and possibly by a single minor chief, and this shows itself in the moves towards forming sub-counties within one or two of the larger ones. Yet in view of administrative attempts to do away with certain chiefs, it seems that in its eyes the Ngoni have too many rather than too few chiefs. The order of segmentation is not critical, as we have seen. Nor has there been merely an ossification of the formal structure as it was at the moment of conquest, as is often the case when a fluid society is suddenly put into a rigid mould. Wiese in 1891 wrote that Ngoniland was divided into four districts.[illegible] In our terms, these were as follows:

(*a*) Primal segment 11.
(*b*) Primal segment 14.
(*c*) Residual segment 10 after 14 was formed.
(*d*) Residual segment 4 after 10 and 11 were formed.

Of these four districts, the first has given rise to two counties, 11 and 16; the second to two, 14 and 17; the third to three, 10, 13 and 15; and the fourth to three, 4, 9 and 12. Wiese does not indicate in what districts he would place segments 5 and 6.

The fortuitous manner in which the counties have emerged is illustrated by the fact that for certain purposes one of the counties is treated as if it were two. At one time, when there were more administrative divisions than there are now, it was divided into two
[651] areas, and this arrangement still persists for tax collection. Other counties have only one tax register book each, but this one has two.

In genealogical terms also, the emergence of the twelve chiefs appears to have been fortuitous. For example, the second wife of
[643] Mpezeni I in segment 10, after the formation of segments 14 and 15,

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[illegible] Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 469-70.

648
had one son who died unmarried. The heir of Mpezeni I next after 178
Nsingu was, therefore, the eldest son of the third wife in segment 10. 631
This man's position in segment 10 was, therefore, equivalent to 634
that of the eldest son of the second wife in segment 14, who was the [648]
second heir in that segment. Of these two second heirs, the latter, in the less important segment, was able to establish himself as the chief of county 17 whereas the former, in the more important segment, succeeded merely in becoming a village headman. [557] Similarly, some lieutenants managed to become chiefs, others of comparable status did not. Wiese mentions six lieutenants by name. One of these became a chief, the other five did not. The segments of two other lieutenants, not mentioned by Wiese, became county segments and one other lieutenant became chief in the county of his lady's segment.

The evidence, therefore, suggests that we must look upon this 178
transition from one system to another as no simple procedure by 648
which indigenous forms of organization are taken over largely
unchanged by a colonial administration. 557 The change from an isolated expanding system based on warfare to a large-scale quasi-static system based on subsistence production and migratory labour provided opportunities for advancement for those who could adapt themselves more quickly than their neighbours. In one sense the really significant change came not in 1898 but in the 1920s, when the pattern of alignment became fixed. In the intervening period Ngoni society was still fluid, and an ambitious man had hope of securing advancement even as he had in the old days before the conquest, even though that advancement was achieved by different means and in a different context. It was after the twelve counties had been fixed, when it became clear that no more chiefs were to be made, that social mobility declined. [634] With a rapidly changing external environment it was unlikely that this static condition would last, and with the growth of the Native Authority bureaucracy a new opening presented itself. Recently there are indications that further openings for the ambitious are being provided in the formation of parishes and in other schemes of rural development. [632] But there are no new chiefs, even as there are no new plumed warriors for them to lead in battle or on whose behalf they can intercede with the tribal ancestors. [554] Leadership in a society of half-peasants, half-proletarians, is based on other interests.

The salaries of chiefs are determined at an annual budget 465
meeting held by the District Officer and attended by the chiefs and 634
a few other men. The general outline of the tribal budget is
suggested by the Administration, but on items of interest, such as 648

personal emoluments, there is usually some discussion. Thus the relative amounts paid to each chief provide us with some indication of the importance attached to him by the Administration and his colleagues. The salaries paid in 1946 are set out in Table VI together with the number of villages in each county in 1938, the last year for which I have that information.

TABLE VI. SALARIES OF CHIEFS AND VILLAGES IN THEIR COUNTIES

County segment	*Number of villages in county, 1938*	*Salary of county chief in £s per annum, 1946*
10	87	120 (*a*)
14	101	97½
4	88	82½
11	77	67½
12	42	52½
17	35	37½
13	30	27 (*b*)
15	28	27 (*b*)
9	19	30
16	19	30
Total	526	571½
Mean	52.6	57.15

(*a*) Paramount Chief.
(*b*) Calculated from monthly rate. Both these chieftainships were vacant for part of 1946.

It will be seen that the amount of a minor chief's salary is closely correlated with the number of villages in his county. The chiefs of counties 13 and 15 appear to be underpaid in relation to the number of their villages, and this may be related to efforts which the Administration had been making about that time to eliminate these two chieftainships and to amalgamate their chiefdoms with others. This arrangement also conforms to the alignment of segments. The Paramount Chief is in charge of county 10 but he is [643] also head of primal segment 4 which includes all the others, and it is therefore appropriate that he should be paid most. Chief 14 is

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

the reigning chief is the grandson of the founder of the county segment, there is one minor segment founded by his father within which he has founded his own segment. In counties where there have been more than three successive heads of the segment, there will be more than one segment intervening between the county segment and that of the reigning chief. With the decline in polygyny, most chiefs have had only one bevy of wives or even a single wife, so that they have been each able to found only one segment. It will be convenient to speak of 'chief's segment' for a segment founded by a reigning chief, and of 'regal segment' for a segment founded by a former chief. With this nomenclature, each chief's segment becomes regal on the death of its founder. [178 634 22 [595] [611]

This terminology links up with our use of the terms *regal* and *chief's villages*, as I have defined them elsewhere.[16] The headquarters of a regal segment is a regal village, and the headquarters of a chief's segment is a chief's village. Similarly the headquarters of a county segment is a capital village. 631 622 603

In general we may refer to capital, regal and chief's villages collectively as royal villages, for they represent the chieftainship, and the history of the State, as against the diverse particular interests represented by the villages led by commoners. Four minor chiefs are, however, not agnatic descendants of Zwangendaba, and we can call their segments and villages royal only with qualification. Two of these four chiefs use the royal descent-name, and they all generally ally themselves with their royal colleagues. Yet there are many Ngoni in these pseudo-royal counties, particularly true agnatic descendants of Zwangendaba or of regional governors, who are scornful of the royal pretensions of their county chiefs. [611] [578]

Some of the junior kinsmen of Zwangendaba became leaders of independent Ngoni groups. None of the junior sons of Mpezeni I became independent leaders but some of them or their descendants did become county chiefs. None of the junior sons of Nsingu or Mpezeni II became chiefs and under the present system none of them is likely to do so. Nevertheless they founded segments, and this has happened in every junior line. In each county, as well as the county, regal and chief's segments, whose founders have been on the direct line of succession to the chieftainship, there are also segments founded by junior members of the chiefly house. These we shall term *cadet segments* and the headquarters of a cadet segment a *cadet village*.

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[16] Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 204-6. In an earlier publication, 'Political development', p. 106, I used the adjective *private* in place of *regal* and *chief's*.

Apart from the fact that the head of the segment is, or once
622 was, a member of the royal lineage, there is little difference between
63 a cadet segment and a commoner one. The majority of segments
64 in the system as a whole have been founded by commoners and the
621 majority of extant villages are the headquarters of commoner
segments. Before the conquest, one of the principal mechanisms
for ensuring the spatial dispersal of an expanding population was the
[364] formation of new large villages, the headquarters of segments
[164] formed for bevies of queens. After the conquest a comparatively
stationary population has dispersed not under the leadership of
queens but by the formation of new segments by commoners, not
all of them even lieutenants of their lords.

Some indication of the distribution of present-day villages
175 among these various types is given in Table VII. This table is based
621 on 82 village histories collected in the general course of fieldwork.
63 The villages were selected casually and arbitrarily, without reference
to this particular problem. I also collected the histories of several counties, in the course of which I became acquainted with other village histories. I have excluded these from the sample to avoid weighing it too heavily with capital and chief's villages, whose names are mentioned in county histories. In consequence, the sample contains no chief's village at all. It also contains too few villages that have come into Ngoniland from other tribal areas, as can be seen by comparing it with Table IV (p. 118). Nevertheless it should serve to show the rough orders of magnitude.

It will be seen that about four out of five at the present time are commoner villages, and that about half of these were already in existence as distinct villages in 1898. On the other hand, seven out of the nine royal villages in the sample were founded before 1898.

Apart from the six incoming villages and the two founded by a labour immigrant and Administrative action, all the villages in the sample have some segment of the old residential system, or its modern equivalent, as their core. Most of the commoner villages have been formed by the differentiation of a quasi-relative, cognatic or affinal relative from his lord. By contrast, most royal villages have been formed by differentiation between bevies of co-wives or between sons and their fathers.

In pre-conquest times there was a dogma that the chief owned
[422] all the cattle in the tribe. This dogma related to the structural
[231] position of the chief as head of the highest segment, and therefore in
authority over the State and its resources rather than to the day-to-day care and disposal of cattle. There were cattle in each village

175 631 621 472 221 and members of the royal lineage. Nevertheless, the care and disposal of these royal cattle is the responsibility of the head of each village where they are kept. If the Paramount Chief visits the village, and a beast is killed in his honour, it is the Paramount Chief who is praised as the owner of the beast. The nearer the village [643] concerned to the Paramount Chief, geographically, in terms of segments, and in terms of counties, the more the man in charge of the cattle should refer to the Paramount Chief before killing one of them, or to report a loss by leopards or hyenas. A few years ago the son of the first lieutenant in a regal village in the Paramount Chief's county removed some royal cattle to another tribal area where he had kinsmen. When this was discovered the matter was discussed [685] by the senior lieutenants of the Paramount Chief's county at his village, and the lieutenant and his son were ordered to be banished. A new man was made first lieutenant in the regal village. In this instance, the lieutenant showed plainly that he was not using the cattle in the interests of the chieftainship. Had his village been farther away from the Paramount Chief, or had his use of the cattle been less obviously merely to his own advantage, it is unlikely that such severe reprisals would have been taken.

[643] These cattle do still provide a visible sign of the connexion between the headquarters of the various segments and the Paramount Chief, and they still provide the first lieutenants of the royal village with wealth which they can use at their discretion to further the interests of the chieftainship. The structural relationship between the Paramount Chief and his subordinates in the old segmentary system is still partly mediated through cattle.

631 621 640 In the old residential system each segment, however small, contained within itself the seeds of an independent State, for there was no inherent restriction on its growth. When the imposition of British rule modified this system, the effect of the ossification of the system at the top was to prevent further splits in the State. The relationship between the major segments which became counties was defined, or rather was redefined, in perpetuity within the bounds of a single Superior Native Authority. However, below the level of these segments no such process of definition took place. A county, in Administrative terms, consisted of so many villages, not of a system of nesting segments. The Administration did not perpetuate these lesser segments by adapting them to its own scheme, and inter-village and intra-county relations were largely left to find their own configuration. This has had three distinct results.

628 621 Firstly, present relations between pairs of villages are still formulated in traditional terms and in part still arise as a result of

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

inefficient workers on the local tobacco farms, where the ties that 648
link them to the near-by villages with their marriages, funerals, and 662
beer parties are still operative, and where the wages are much [461]
lower than in Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, Ngoni tend to suspect
the good intentions of any non-African, however lavish he may be [186]
with his presents, and for this reason are reluctant to enter into
agreements with them the social consequences of which they
cannot foresee.

2. *Rivals of the Paramount Chief*

In pre-conquest times the death of the head of the State was 643
followed by a struggle between rival heirs and by fission of the
State. Under British colonial rule these struggles cannot be carried 648
on by force of arms, and it is difficult to split the tribe when there
is nowhere for the dissident section to move to and when Administrative recognition is an important condition for political existence. Nevertheless the same struggles continue even if in a different guise.

One of the most interesting incidents in the struggles between 611
rival groups for the chieftainship occurred in 1903 and hinged on an 643
aspect of segmentation within the residential system which we have
not so far discussed. It was customary for the heir to a large segment founded by his father to place one wife in the headquarters of that segment as well as establishing his bevies of wives with their own inferior segments. The eldest son of the selected wife grew up to be in charge of the headquarters and came to be identified with his father's father, the founder of the headquarters, as against his father who was lord of its segment. Thus, for example, Zwangendaba, heir to segment 1, founded segment 18 for his own great wife, but also placed one of his wives in the headquarters of segment 1, the segment founded by his father for *his* great wife. Similarly Mpezeni, as son of Zwangendaba, placed one of his wives in the headquarters of segment 4, which by then had replaced the annihilated segment 18. In this matter the Ngoni seem to have differed from the Zulu, for among them, according to Bryant, the *isizinda*, son of the placed wife, represents his own father as against the father's main heir.[1]

In 1903 the eldest son of Mpezeni I by the selected wife in segment 4 tried to assume the name of his father's father, Zwangendaba. This was in accord with his structural position as representing the interests of the founder of the segment as against those of the

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[1] Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 80; Bryant, *Dictionary*, s.v. *isi-zinda*. cf. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 401. Lancaster implies that the selected wife was called *ikhohlwa*. This seems unlikely in view of the Zulu use of *i(li)khohlwa* for the senior left-hand wife.

611 reigning lord of the segment. It is probable that in this instance
643 the divergence of interest had been increased by the shooting of
Nsingu, for Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu and grandson of Mpezeni I,
was only a young boy and in the hands of guardians who were
commoners and who might respond to pressure from their ward's
father's paternal half-brother. So far as can be gathered from the
published account of the meeting called by the Administration to
[644] discuss the matter, the young Paramount was supported by the
lords of segments 12, 14 and 17 and by the senior lieutenants of
segment 10. He was opposed by the heads of segments 9, 13 and 16
and by the senior lieutenant of segment 4. Segment 15 seems not
to have taken part in the dispute. Thus the main cleavage appears
to have been between segments 10 and 12 on the one hand and the
residue of 4 on the other. Segment 13, in terms of its structural
position, was on the wrong side; this may have been connected
with the fact that the regional governor of Mpezeni I who led
segment 13 was born in the headquarters of segment 4. After a
quarrel about succession to his father's office of lieutenant in that
segment, he moved to segment 10 where he found favour with the
chief and was later promoted to regional governor. In the 1903
dispute he apparently transferred his support back to his natal
segment.[8]

The attempt to assume the name Zwangendaba failed. The young chief's supporters outnumbered their opponents at the meeting and his spokesmen argued that he had been recognized by all the other chiefs and by the Administration as Paramount of the whole Ngoni country. If his rival took the name he would be led to usurp the authority of the young Paramount. The Native Commissioner then ruled that the name could not be taken.

Throughout his reign Mpezeni II was opposed by a half-
643 brother, a son of Nsingu by a different mother. This man was older
611 than Mpezeni and claimed that his mother had really been Nsingu's
754 great wife, or at least that Nsingu had intended to make her so
669 before he was shot in 1898. This rivalry took two forms. He
endeavoured to bring destruction to the chief and his cattle by
578 sorcery, and on one occasion made what seems to have been a half-
hearted attempt to kill him with a spear. At the same time he
endeavoured to establish his own segment as a county of its own,
and in this he was assisted by others who fancied themselves as
chief of the proposed new county.[9] The sorcery failed, not only
because it was merely sorcery, but also because sorcery and

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[8] *N.E.R.G.G.*, i, 4 (1 August 1903), Supplement. See p. 35.

[9] See pp. 143 *f*.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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divination are not well developed among the Ngoni as means of 643
influencing action. The attempt to establish a new county failed 611
for lack of Administrative support. Chiefs still continue to express [754]
their rivalries through sorcery, and would-be chiefs still attempt to [649]
establish new counties.

When Mpezeni II died, his heir was still young and was out of the country at boarding-school. A minor chief, after quarrelling [872] with one of the dead chief's lieutenants about the funeral arrangements, proposed that the heir should remain at school to finish his education and that meanwhile there should be a regency. However the Administration arranged for the immediate return of the heir.

The rivalry between the Paramount Chief and his minor 643
chiefs shows itself in other less dramatic ways. Thus the Paramount 578
Chief's advisers told me that all cases coming on appeal from the 692
courts of minor chiefs were heard in the Paramount Chief's own court of first instance, and that only if the verdict given there was not accepted was the case referred to the Appeal Court which was held at the administrative centre of the Paramount Chief's county every month. The minor chief's and their advisers told me that cases sent on appeal from them went direct to the Native Appeal Court, and emphasized that this court was composed of several minor chiefs and their councillors, called upon in rotation. In practice, as I observed in the course of my work, sometimes one procedure was followed, sometimes the other.

On the other hand, the minor chiefs and other politically 643
important people support the Paramount Chief in his relations with 648
the Administration. When recently Ngoni thought that the Administration was not treating the Paramount Chief with the respect due to his position, two minor chiefs endeavoured to organize a petition to the Administration on the matter. When the Paramount Chief's deputy was put in prison by the Administration for [695] embezzlement, it was a minor chief who protested most strongly to the Administration. However dissatisfied the minor chiefs and people may be with any particular Paramount Chief, there is little dissatisfaction with the Paramount Chieftainship. This is still the [186] feature of their organization which in Ngoni eyes most clearly marks them off from their neighbours, and which most clearly links them in their present lowly condition to the exploits of their illustrious forefathers.

3. *The chief's advisers*

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The men who advise the chief, who enjoy his confidence and 643
his hospitality, belong to a number of different categories. In each 645

639 643 645 county the senior lieutenants of the county segment are well-known figures, usually headmen of large villages, and often seen at the chief's house. There are also the lieutenants of the segments of lower order founded for their great wives by successive heads of the county segment, and in particular the lieutenants of the reigning chief's great wife's segment. There are individuals who for some reason or other have become friendly with the chief, and there are those occupying posts paid by the Native Treasury. There are the kinsmen of the chief, including the chief's deputy. All these categories contribute to the circle round the chief which keeps him informed of what is going on in his county, advises him what he should do and travels with him on journeys. The constitution of this group is not fixed and there is no formal council to which persons definitely do or do not belong. An Administrative officer once asked Mpezeni II who constituted the tribal council, and the Paramount Chief is said to have found difficulty in thinking of any names. Not all the people who might be expected to advise the chief do so, for there are always quarrels and preferences within each category. In particular, the lieutenants of regal segments seem to play a comparatively minor part. They do not represent the interests of the county as a whole, as do the lieutenants of the county segment, nor of the reigning chief, as do the lieutenants of his own village. They are the favourites of former chiefs and the segments that they represent are not functionally significant under the present scheme of administration.

In recent years the Administration has endeavoured from time [648] to time to discuss affairs with the chiefs and the four newly appointed Native Authority councillors in isolation from the rest of the tribe.[4] In most situations in which matters of common interest are discussed there is, however, no restriction on who can offer advice to the chief or to the meeting. Any man can stand up and say what he wishes, but unless he is in an important social position people will listen to him attentively only if his counsel seems sound.[5]

It is the custom for a chief to nominate one of his agnatic [605] kinsmen, usually a father's son or father's brother's son, as his deputy.[6] Although this appears to have been a traditional post, I 634 do not know what role was played by an important man's deputy 645 in pre-conquest times. Nowadays the deputy of a chief may help in his various official duties and represents the interests of the chief's agnatic kin as against those of his lieutenants. In village affairs

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[4] See p. 151.

[5] See pp. 158f.

[6] *Mnawe*. cf. Zulu *umnawe*, younger sibling.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

the post of deputy is still of significance,[7] but in the life of the 634
county the chief's deputy does not play a great part. One man 645
appointed as chief's deputy went to Southern Rhodesia but no one has been appointed in his place and the chief manages without a deputy.

Another traditional post which still functions is that of chief's 202
messenger.[8] This post is quite distinct from that of district messenger 634
who is an employee of the Administration, and of Native Authority 629
messenger. The district messengers and Native Authority messengers are full-time civil servants, while the chief's messengers are only called upon from time to time and are not paid. The county chief nominates one man for each cluster of half a dozen villages or so in his county to be responsible for informing the village headmen in his cluster of forthcoming county meetings and royal hunts. Sometimes a man who has been nominated accepts his post reluctantly, but it is difficult for him to refuse, and an ambitious man may welcome the appointment for the contact it gives him with his chief.

The royal descent-name *jere* is held by all patrilineal descendants 611
of Zwangendaba's father and by the patrilineal descendants of 643
various other people who were given the name by Zwangendaba
or Mpezeni I.[9] Only two county chiefs do not bear this name. 551
People who do not hold it regard all those who do as kinsfolk of the 634
Paramount Chief, and from time to time in the appointment of men to office, the common people have insisted that not all the posts should go to men bearing this name. The Administration has
regarded all men named *jere* in the same way, and in its efforts to [648]
counter nepotism has made similar stipulations. A simple dichotomy of this kind overlooks the divisions within the royal house and between the agnatic kinsmen of the Paramount Chief and those who have acquired the name by other means. Distant agnatic relationship may imply less identity of interest than close non-agnatic ties. Nevertheless the appointment of councillors and others with non-
royal descent names does assist the notion that the people as well [645]
as the chief have interests in the common good and share the responsibility of pursuing it.

From time to time efforts are made to create new chieftain- 634
ships. We have already mentioned one attempt.[10] The initiative
comes usually from the junior kinsman of a chief to whom he has 668

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[7] See my 'Village headman', pp. 100-6.

[8] *Linyusa.* cf. Zulu i(*li*)*nxusa*, messenger sent by a king or chief.

[9] See Bruwer, *Mbiri*, p. 23, for the categories of persons bearing the royal descent name.

[10] See p. 140*f*.

637 by this relationship participate in the presentation and consumption
273 of the beer.

The religion of the Ngoni before the conquest was a cult of the [769] Paramount Chief's ancestors. This cult has disappeared and all 797 public religious activities are now conducted by members of the various Christian denominations, Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Anglican (U.M.C.A.), Seventh Day Adventist, and Watch Tower. There are a few adherents of other Christian sects who do not have churches in the Fort Jameson area and there are a few Moslems. There is little evidence to show how much the disappearance of the tribal religion has altered relations between the chief and his people. Most chiefs have some connexion with one or other mission, attend mission services from time to time and send their children to mission schools. The evangelists, deacons and elders of the churches act as leaders of the community in certain situations, particularly at funerals. Advancement within the [557] ecclesiastical organization can be an alternative route to high status, but in most secular matters church leaders do not rival the chiefs. In church, chiefs are treated with respect and given seats of [576] honour, while tribal and county meetings are usually opened with prayers led by a catechist or elder of the denomination to which the chief is attached.

The sanctions which people can use against their chiefs are 681 diffuse rather than organized. If the conduct of a chief is regarded 634 as outrageous, the senior lieutenants of his county segment and 626 other traditionally important people may hold a small meeting in the chief's village and there rebuke him for his misbehaviour. If the chief has offended against one of his people, say by striking him, the lieutenants may tell the chief to pay a beast to the wronged man as damages. If it is a minor chief who is involved, the Paramount Chief is sometimes told of the matter and calls the minor [643] chief to his village to reprimand or caution him. A chief who flouted the instructions of his lieutenants or Paramount in matters of this kind would lose a great deal of the support of his people on which his position ultimately depends. The common people themselves cannot take much direct action against a chief of whose actions they disapprove, but they can gradually drift away from him into other counties and they can refrain from sending him gifts of beer or from answering his calls for labour, and they may show their disapproval by not saluting him in the traditional manner. 643 The Paramount Chief alone is saluted with the word 'Baiyete',[14] a 576 salutation which symbolizes his former position as head of an

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[14] cf. Zulu *Bayede*.

independent group of Ngoni. Chibambo mentions how the use of 643
this salutation was discontinued when the head of an erstwhile 576
independent group rejoined his parent group.[15] In recent times people have indicated their disapproval of the Paramount Chief's actions by discontinuing this salutation temporarily.

Despite the security of tenure provided by Administrative
recognition, a chief still needs the support of his people. There is an 634
Ngoni maxim, 'chieftainship is people',[16] and commoners are well 626
aware that it is because they support their chief that he has high status. The simplest and most effective sanction that commoners can employ against their chief is to leave him. Movement from one
county to another, from one tribe to another, and from the county [166]
to the town and back again is crucial in the working of modern Ngoni society. Not all these movements take place as the result of the unpopularity of chiefs, but this is one factor among many. Chibambo records an early example of people moving to segment 8 from the residue of segment 1 in order to share the hospitality of a newly appointed chief, but he goes on to say 'afterwards they found it wise to return to their proper division [segment]'.[17] In more recent times there are several examples, particularly among villages which entered Ngoniland after 1898 and who therefore largely lack segmental affiliation, of villages and clusters that have changed from one county to another for political reasons. More significant at the present time are the numbers of ambitious people who
emigrate to the towns because, among other things, they cannot [557]
find advancement in the political hierarchy. The most striking
instance of this is in the family of the late Mpezeni II. He had six [643]
sons who survived him. One is now Paramount Chief, and one is still a boy. The other four, including the chief's deputy, are town-dwellers in other parts of Africa.

5. *Royal hunts*

The royal hunt is the only occasion on which a county, or 224
more usually a rural district or part of a county, functions as an
economic unit. Even then the economic element in the enterprise 476
is not very marked. The chief announces, through his messengers, 634
that on such-and-such a day he will hold a royal hunt and that the men of such-and-such villages are to meet in a certain place. The procedure followed on the hunt is exactly the same as on an ordinary hunt, with the chief or someone nominated by him in tactical command, though the number of hunters is greater than on a hunt

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[15] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 36.

[16] *Ufumu ni ŵanthu.*

[17] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 35.

The tenure of a chief is very secure. Unless the chief is found 634
guilty of some crime serious in the eyes of the Administration or
unless there is serious disaffection in his county which gains Administrative 648
support, a chief remains a chief for life. For the last fifty
years the Administration has complained that Ngoni chiefs are
inefficient and unco-operative, yet the number of instances in
which a chief has been deposed is very small. I could discover only
one clear instance. This security is not enjoyed by other Native
Authority employees. Clerks who are found to have embezzled [647]
public money lose their posts even as they are punished in the [687]
Administration's courts, but the impetus to remove the occupant
of a post comes usually from the Ngoni themselves and not from the
Administration. Assessors and others who offend their chief are
usually dismissed, while at a county meeting men may raise complaints
against the actions of an office holder which, if sufficiently
sustained, may result in the chief's dismissing him.

The secure tenure of the chiefs derives in part from the acceptance by the Administration that their posts are hereditary. It is interesting to note that some holders of less important and more recently created posts are saying that their sons should succeed them.

Table VIII (p. 152) shows clearly the kinds of activities that 648
come within the control of the Native Authority. It does not show
the whole range of social services which affect the Ngoni, for 65
education is largely paid for by the Central Government and
largely administered by the missions, while the Administration [797]
itself handles a wide variety of services, such as agricultural
instruction, control of labour, maintenance of main roads, postal
services, and very many more. The Administration endeavours to
supervise contracts between Africans and non-Africans, and retains
for its own courts the right to deal with disputes between Africans
and non-Africans. Ngoni participate with other tribes as political
groups only within the framework of institutions supervised by the
Administration, such as the African Provincial Council of the
Eastern Province. The Ngoni Native Authority is in fact, like any 645
other Native Authority, a local government body to which certain
functions have been delegated completely by the Central Government,
and which for other functions relies partly or wholly
on skilled or specialized services provided for it by the centre. The
Paramount Chief is hereditary chairman of a rural district council, 643
representing the interests of his peasants to the central authority
and representing it to them.

However this analogy of local government is only partly 648
correct, for the society in which Ngoni now live is not a homo- 184

7. *Capital, court and chief's village*

634 We have spoken of the headquarters of the county segment as the capital of the county, and this is in accord with vernacular usage. Although each chief is head of his county segment, no chief lives in his capital village. Each has made his segment and set up a village of his own. This process continues with each successive chief, each making his own new village. When brick buildings [344] were made during the 1930s to house the newly recognized Native Courts, these were located near the villages of the reigning chiefs. Some of these are still in office, while others have died and their successors live in their new villages, some of which are as much as two miles away from the court. There are thus in some counties three foci of political interest. There is the capital village, the court, and the chief's village. Associated with each centre are different leaders and different activities. The capital village provides a link with the past, and in particular with that moment in the past at which the segment was founded. The Paramount Chief ● [613] retains special rights in his capital village and can make a garden for one year on the old site of his county capital whenever it moves to a new one. Most, if not all, capital villages are larger than the average village but the senior lieutenants of the county segments do not live in them, for like the chiefs, they have made their own villages. Nevertheless, the lieutenants who do live in the capital [554] are regarded as people of considerable importance in the county. Meetings are sometimes held in the capital but more frequently at the county court or in the chief's village. The court is the home of 692 the Native Authority, and it is there that the affairs of the Adminis-648 tration are discussed. An incident well illustrates the association of the court with the Administration. I once called at the house of a 634 county chief who had not previously met me. He insisted that I 647 should go to the court to meet him there, as that was where he always met Administrative officials. County meetings are called at the court to discuss matters raised by the Administration in its letters to chiefs, and to formulate requests and complaints for transmission to the Administration. The court clerk, the Native Authority councillors, assessors, and messengers are much in evidence, while the traditional advisers of the chief, his senior lieutenants, may be in the background even if they are not silent. Meetings of this kind are usually called by county chiefs, but occasionally a meeting may be held open to the whole tribe. I have described elsewhere the procedure at a county meeting.[22]

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[22] Barnes, 'Political development', pp. 107-9.

167 which we shall be more directly concerned with the smaller
464 groupings of Ngoni society. There are, however, a few points that
[567] must be mentioned here.

In Fort Jameson and in a few of the towns on the Northern
693 Rhodesia railway line there are Ngoni members of the Native
Urban Courts. These posts are largely in the gift of the Native
574 Authority although they are not paid by the Native Treasury. The
643 man recommended by the Paramount Chief to the Administration
is usually the one appointed, and he acts as a representative of the
Native Authority in the town as well as carrying out his duties in
the court. He is likely to act as host when a chief visits his town,
and messages are sometimes sent through him to men and women
who are wanted in connexion with affairs in Ngoniland.

Every few years or so a chief goes to visit the towns. Here he
574 is received by his people and those of other Ngoni counties, and
643 may be given substantial presents. The Paramount Chief is sometimes
484 called to Lusaka by the Administration to attend some
function, and newly appointed chiefs go to a school near there,
where courses of instruction are held for them. Thus although
migrants may leave their villages and not return to them for many
[202] years, there are opportunities for them to keep in touch with rural
happenings. Most of their contacts are with their kinsfolk, who
visit them or write to them, but there are also these links with the
political system of the tribe. When political offices have to be filled,
not only Ngoni living rurally are considered but also those in the
647 towns whose whereabouts are known. Sometimes the fare is sent
for the lorry journey back to Fort Jameson if the town-dweller has
no money.

There is little contact between the Fort Jameson group and
167 other Ngoni groups. In 1914 envoys came from the northern
567 Nyasaland group in order, it is said, formally to confirm Mpezeni
619 as Paramount Chief of the Fort Jameson group, but there does not
571 seem to have been any subsequent contact between the heads of
the two groups. Individuals from northern Nyasaland from time
to time find their way into Fort Jameson District, usually while
searching for work on the tobacco farms, in the same way as men
from other tribes. These immigrants may persuade some of their
[557] relatives to join them and so build up sufficient following to set
themselves up as village headmen.

Contact is naturally closer with the two Nyasaland counties
571 formerly under Mpezeni and many Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia
574 have relatives across the border. The border twists and turns, and
there is no physical indication of its existence on the ground save

for a few heaps of stones hidden among the trees on the tops of 571
hills. People visit back and forth freely, except for the control 574
imposed at the customs barrier on the one lorry road. Many
people grow vegetables in Nyasaland, where there is more land, [439]
and sell them in Northern Rhodesia, where there is a better market. [311]

While this territorial proximity gives rise to a multitude of ties
linking individuals across the border, it does not lead to new
political relations between the counties with a common boundary.
Such political relations as do persist are survivals from the old order.
Although the formal structure of the Native Court system, as determined [692]
by the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Administrations, 648
does not permit it, cases sometimes come on appeal from the Nyasaland
counties to Mpezeni. There is official visiting between chiefs 643
across the border, and when the Paramount Chief is short of food
he may ask the Nyasaland chiefs to send him a few baskets of maize.
But despite the nearness of the Nyasaland chiefs to Mpezeni in
spatial terms, their political interests lie mainly in the opposite
direction. They are the only two Ngoni chiefs in that district of
Nyasaland and most of the chiefs whom they meet are Cewa. Their
Administration is separate from that in Northern Rhodesia, their
laws are different, and they look towards Zomba rather than
Lusaka as the seat of Administrative power. We have noted how
Mpezeni I contemplated moving into Nyasaland in 1897. As late
as 1922, when the Native Reserve scheme was under discussion,
Mpezeni II made some preliminary soundings on moving across
the border, but already by 1946 such projects were overshadowed by
the prospects of federation for the two countries of Northern
Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The people of the two Nyasaland counties are subject to the 611
same general influences as are their Northern Rhodesia neighbours 178
in such matters as increasing dependence on an exchange economy
and the development of a cognatic or omni-directional kinship 171
system in which links can be traced through spouses as well as
through fathers or mothers. Yet even in economic activity there are
significant differences. In Nyasaland, Africans grow tobacco for
sale, while the Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia are not able to do so; [249]
recruiting for the Rand gold-mines is allowed in Nyasaland and
prohibited in most of Northern Rhodesia, including the Fort [464]
Jameson area.

The annual meetings of the African Provincial Council of the 646
Eastern Province are attended by representatives from each tribe 648
in the province, two people from Fort Jameson township, the
Provincial Commissioner and sometimes a representative of the

178 new external factors are operating. There has been a change in the
631 scale of social relationships, and Ngoni men and women form part
of a large-scale society in which events in one distant part of the
system affect events in another part. The history and analysis of
this change lies largely outside the scope of this study, and we have
restricted ourselves to the way in which the political system of the
tribe has adapted itself and been adapted in the changing society.
[64] The Ngoni sovereign State has become more and more like a rural
district council in a backward area; foreign policy has given place
to Native policy; social mobility has been restricted to the lowest
[557] caste in a plural society; and the great warrior chief has become in
effect the only member of the Administration who never goes home
[613] to Britain on leave. But in the eyes of his people, the Paramount
Chief still belongs to the Ngoni, and not to the Administration.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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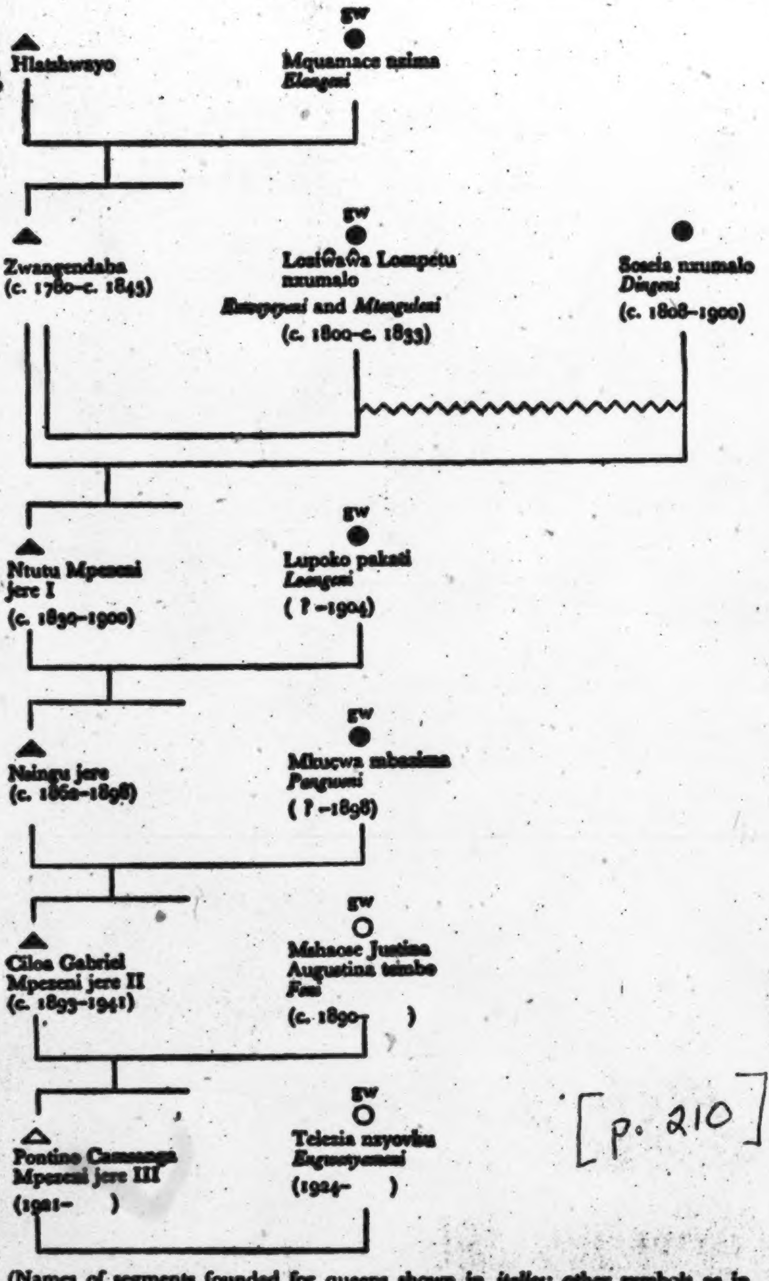
SKELETON GENEALOGY OF MPEZENI CHIEFTAINSHIP


gw
Hlatshwayo
Mquamace nzima
Elangeni
gw
Zwangendaba
(c. 1780–c. 1845)
Loziŵaŵa Lompetu
nxumalo
Emvayeyeni and *Mtenguleni*
(c. 1800–c. 1833)
Soscia nxumalo
Dingeni
(c. 1808–1900)
gw
Ntutu Mpezeni
jere I
(c. 1830–1900)
Lupoko pakati
Loangeni
(? –1904)
gw
Nsingu jere
(c. 1862–1898)
Mkucwa mbazima
Penguuni
(? –1898)
gw
Ciloa Gabriel
Mpezeni jere II
(c. 1893–1941)
Mahaose Justina
Augustina tembe
Feni
(c. 1890–   )
gw
Pontino Cansenga
Mpezeni jere III
(1921–   )
Telezia nzyovika
Engwenyameni
(1924–   )

[p. 210]

(Names of segments founded for queens shown in *italics*; other symbols as in Diagram 1 rotated through ninety degrees. Years of birth and death shown in brackets.)

11

CHAPTER II

THE NGONI KINGDOMS

IN 1933, by the Native Authorities Ordinance and the Native Courts Ordinance, Mbelwa was recognized as Paramount of the northern Ngoni kingdom with six Subordinate Native Authorities under him, and his court was constituted the appeal court for their six courts. The same procedure was followed in the central kingdom for Paramount Gomani with six Subordinate Native Authorities, and his court as the appeal court for their courts. They were the only rulers in Nyasaland with S.N.A.[1] under them. Two other chiefs, Cikulamayembe of the Henga in Mzimba district and Kyungu of the Ngonde in North Nyasa district, had respectively four and five courts subordinate to them, but the chiefs owning these courts were not recognized as their subordinates. The Ngoni comment on these ordinances was 'Ha! Now they see what big chiefs we have. Only our chiefs are called *inkosi*.' 642 643 692

The northern kingdom was in Mzimba district, and Paramount Mbelwa's royal village was at the southern end of his kingdom. The central kingdom included the whole of Ncheu district with Paramount Gomani's royal village at the northern end. This kingdom had Portuguese territory on its western frontier, close to the royal village. When the Portuguese boundary was fixed in 1891, the Ngoni kingdom under the Maseko Paramount was cut in two and a section under a Maseko ruler became a separate kingdom under the Portuguese. There was constant trouble in the 1930's over this Portuguese frontier, for Gomani's Ngoni visited their relatives, grazed their cattle and hoed gardens on the Portuguese side; and from time to time claims by the Portuguese for rent for gardens and grazing lands and disputes about taxation, needed judicious handling in the District Commissioner's court. 631 648

The figures in Table II for Mzimba and Ncheu districts in 1926, 1931, and 1945 show the changes in the ethnic composition of the districts, some of which are difficult to account for. In Mzimba district the Henga under Cikulamayembe were included in the figures for the Tumbuka and hence the northern Ngoni kingdom did not include all the 156,208 in the district. In Ncheu, the total district population of 87,690 were all included in the central Ngoni kingdom, showing the mixed ethnic elements, among which the Ngoni, or those who were enumerated as Ngoni, had declined from 64,023 in 1926 to 15,242 in 1945. Between 1931 and 1945 the decrease in the number of Ngoni (31,066) was almost balanced by the increase in the number of Nyanja 162 563

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[1] This abbreviation will be used henceforward in referring to Subordinate Native Authorities.

Ngoni, he was welcomed everywhere as one who could speak with authority about the culture and customs of his people, and the central Ngoni, when talking about their history and customs, wanted him to realize that they too were 'real Ngoni' (*Ngoni eni eni*). The general relationships before 1939 were that the political separation between the kingdoms and their secession states was accepted as final. On the social and cultural level, the Ngoni from one state sought contacts with the Ngoni from another state or kingdom in preference to contacts with other ethnic groups. In using the term Ngoni in this context, as throughout this book, I am referring to people with Swazi and trans-Zambesi clan descent names. 814 [186] 619 101

THE MAIN POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN THE NGONI KINGDOMS

The District Commissioner of Ncheu in his report for 1935, after the Native Administration Ordinance had been in operation for over a year, wrote of the central Ngoni kingdom: 'The tribal system is, comparatively speaking, intact under a chief who commands universal respect.'[1] The political system of the Ngoni in both kingdoms was based on a ruling aristocracy in which the Paramount of the royal clan was the head, supported by influential members of his own clan and of other leading clans. There were three main elements in this ruling aristocracy: the Paramount, with whose office was linked provision for a regency at the death of the incumbent and during the minority of his successor; the subordinate chiefs who ruled under him in recognized areas; and the heads of Swazi clans called *alumuzana*. I shall use these terms, chiefs and *alumuzana*, when speaking of the Ngoni kingdoms. In the northern kingdom all six chiefs was of the royal clan. In the central kingdom none of the six chiefs were of the royal clan but, with one exception, all were recognized as *alumuzana*. This distribution of authority among the six chiefs under the Paramount in the northern kingdom meant that several of the leading *alumuzana* felt excluded from political control of the villages and area which they were said to 'own', because they had no recognized court. This led at times to friction between them and the chiefs of the royal clan. In the central kingdom the position was different, for though some *alumuzana* were recognized as chiefs, others were not, and friction occurred at times between the chiefs and other *alumuzana*, and also between the chiefs and members of the royal clan. In both areas allegiance to the Paramount was, however, a strong unifying element. 642 [643 631] 614] 642 631

The ruling aristocracy was in its turn supported by a hierarchy of officials, some traditional, some appointed to meet modern requirements 647

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[1] *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner for the Nyasaland Protectorate*. 1935, p. 54.

was still more clearly demonstrated by the attitude of the Ngoni 'of the 121
dispersion', who returned for visits, some frequently and others at 571
varying intervals, to their former homes though they were no longer in a political sense subjects of the Ngoni Paramount.

In the Group A systems, not only is the Paramount the political head 121
of a culturally and ethnically heterogeneous state, but he is also a ter- 643
ritorial ruler, and everyone living within the boundaries of his state is
his subject. This was peculiarly a characteristic of the so-called con- 642
quest states, when effective administrative control was established within recognized boundaries after the conquest or surrender of neighbouring peoples. In the chapter on the military organization of the Ngoni, it will be seen how the nature of the military tenure of *alumuzana*, and the relation of groups of conquered villages known as *amilaga* to the central villages of the Paramount and *alumuzana*, emphasized the limits within which Ngoni authority was effective. One of the often repeated grievances of the older Ngoni was that the Europeans 'arrived too soon', before the Ngoni were able to establish effective authority over the whole country.

Two further points emerge in the introductory essay to *African Political Systems* which relate to the balance of forces within the Group A type of state and to the position of the Paramount. Both these points will be illustrated in Part II. The first concerns the relationship of the subordinate chiefs (called 'local chiefs' in the essay) to the central authority. They represented the central authority in the areas where they ruled, and they represented the people under them and their needs to the central authority. When the older Ngoni were talking about the Paramount in pre-European days, much emphasis was laid on his control of the chiefs and *alumuzana*, and on the obligation they felt to visit the Paramount in his village frequently, in order that they might appear to be carrying out his orders and not usurping undue authority. The older Ngoni also laid stress on the accessibility of the Paramount to all his people, provided—and it was an important proviso—that a man came to him with an intermediary, either his headman or his *mulumuzana*.

The final point of comparison between Group A systems and the 121
Ngoni kingdoms is the mystical values bound up with kingship. This 643
will be discussed in the chapter on the Paramount (Chapter II, Part II)
and it is related also to the ancestor cult. The Ngoni Paramounts were 829
more than ruling monarchs; they were the symbol of the unity of their state; in pre-European days the Paramount was the head of the army; and the ritual at the accession and at the death of a Paramount was related to the fertility of the land and the prosperity of the people.

their spears and gathered together; they went to the kraal and began to 539
dance the *ligubo* war dance. Sometimes they set themselves in order as 702
though they were out on a raid; they came out at the right middle of the
kraal and went *pa lisango*, toward the gate, singing, marching, and shaking
their shields and spears. Sometimes they retreated as though running
from the enemy, then turned about as though running to meet the enemy
again. This was done to show how they could fight and defend themselves
from the enemy. It showed that the boys were now young men and of the
warrior class, and they were asking to be admitted to the status of grown [884]
men. If the old men agreed that their prayer should be granted they were
formed into a new regiment (*libandla*) and were given a senior to lead and
govern them.

The Army

All the war companies were under the Paramount. He had the power 539
to call the whole army to go out against enemies. But all big villages and 704
villages of men of reputation had their own companies, like Zulu Gama, [643]
Njerenjere Sibande and many others. These companies were under the
war *induna* of the Paramount and when they were called they came quickly to the village of the Paramount which was the central meeting place. A *libandla* (company) was divided into *mabuto* (sections) sometimes of 100 or more. For each section there was an *induna* who led it in war, judged all disputes, and spoke for it to the war *induna*. The war *induna* was the eye of the Paramount in all that pertained to war.

The army was divided into companies corresponding to the districts or chiefs' villages and all the company leaders were under the war *induna*. All the parts of the army were divided in lesser parts in accordance with the generation of the young men, *amajaha*, and the older men, *amadoda*.

Mobilization

If desired the Paramount had power to send a summons through the 539
whole country that his army should mobilize in his village in order that 726
he might see it. The lesser chiefs had the same power for their districts. The man who delivered the summons went into the kraal and shouted that the Paramount wished the army to gather at the central meeting place. The message was spread everywhere. Then all the sections in the villages and in the districts of the lesser chiefs and clan heads hastened to come at the appointed time. The Paramount prepared cattle to be killed for the army. As the sections were marching in they sang the songs called *imihubo*. Section by section they chose their *muhubo* for arriving and entering the kraal and each section drew up by itself. An open space was left between the sections so that they might be known.

When they had all gathered in their places the herald rose and shouted
'*Uyezwa na*', 'Do you hear?' '*Utsho njalo yenkosi, uti, Ayigube*', 'Thus
saith the Paramount, let them dance.' This was to tell the sections to begin
the war-dance. Each section got up with one heart and made a wide circle [535]
and began to dance. One of them began a song which he remembered on the spur of the moment from the *ligubo* and led off, the whole section took it up waving their shields and thrusting with their spears now right now left according to their step and each foot stamping the ground.

539 726 he had danced before all the sections he began to call '*Uyezwa, uti, Aiyime ncgito*', 'Do you hear? Stand to arms.' Immediately section by section got up and rushed forward with noise and whistling deafening the ears. The warriors stood in crowds near the stockade and almost surrounding it. When the army was small, they stood in the shape of a young crescent moon. While they did so, they were blowing their horns and whistling to drown the noise in the stockade.

Very soon the message was heard: '*Utsho njalo yena, uti, Aziqwebane*', 'Thus it is said, let the bulls fight.' On these words the warriors ran at the stockade with one heart and a noise like wind and the country was filled with the tread of their feet. For a short time there would sometimes be silence, then a shout would be heard from a section: '*Nginga pakati: kuti loko*', 'I am inside: I of such and such a village.' The man who was first in the stockade would name his village. Then there would be heard, '*Nginawe, mnakwetu*', 'I am with you, comrade.' All the *izinduna* and warriors fought in their own sections but once the army was inside they began to ask for the name of the first man in and those who had been near gave the name of the heroes. So each *induna* knew all about what had happened in his own section before he met the war *induna*, and when the latter reported to the Paramount at home he could tell everything.

Return from war

539 727 Long ago all that was found in the village or stockade (goats, sheep and cattle) belonged of right to the man who had entered first. That was easy when they sent only one company to the attack. All the other things belonged to the finder. Afterwards when all the warriors went to the attack together, it was difficult to distinguish who had got in first and so the spoils went to the man who reached them first. The Paramount had [643] his portion of everything taken. Outside the stockade those who had taken cattle put aside two or three which they said were *amahloma ankosi*, the first taste to the Paramount.

On the return all who had dipped their spears in the blood of their enemies carried what the killed had been wearing and their weapons or bows. If a man had killed a woman he wore her things (that is her ornaments, bark-cloth, etc.). These things were done to fulfil a taboo. When [783] the end of the time of purification came, all those things that were worthless were thrown away or burned, but the beautiful things were kept. Only the very old people wore the clothes of the killed.

When the army was on the way home it looked for bones of animals and burned them and ground them fine like flour, and also made charcoal dust. On the day of arrival some flour was kneaded and bone dust and the charcoal dust each by itself. They painted themselves on the face and on the body. This custom was to show those who had speared an enemy in the fight.

When the army was near their own country the war *induna* chose some messengers to go and give the news of the fighting and the names of those who had been killed. These messengers went to the important *izinduna*, and from them the news went quickly to the Paramount, headmen, and elders. The women were not told quietly; even if a man knew that his son

were worn by hanging on the shoulder or neck. The bulls which were 539
killed were called *izinkunzi za impi*, bulls of the army. The man who wore 703
the horns and danced with them was known as a man of valour. 237

Often the Paramount called the men who had shown valour on many 539
occasions to come to him. When he did so he first of all searched for a
fine skin and called a man who was good at cutting out a shield. When the 703
shield was ready it was given to the famous warrior. When he received it he began to dance with the shield while the Paramount and the people there saluted him with praises for his valour. The people in the kraal were told to greet the Paramount's hero and beat on their shields. That dancing was a dance of thanks to the Paramount.

ORGANIZATION OF WARFARE

Cibambo's text brings out a number of points which emphasize that 182
the organization for war was integral to the whole structure of the Ngoni
kingdoms and to the peoples living within the kingdoms. We shall con- 701
centrate in this chapter on the political implications of the organization
of warfare, and chiefly on the part played by the Paramount and his
officers of state. The entire war organization was centred in the person 721
and office of the Paramount. He was the commander-in-chief of the 643
army, though most informants agreed he did not himself go out to fight. He claimed the sole right to make war and to declare war, but it is clear from early Europeans sources that private wars and raids did take place, and this effort to centralize and control all warfare appears to have been not wholly successful. The Paramount claimed the right to distribute all booty taken in wars, whether they were waged on behalf of the whole state or of a section of it. Through the exercise of this right he sought to suppress private warfare for private gain, but, according to Cibambo, he did not get all the booty taken, for the text mentions setting aside cattle for the Paramount.

If war was declared by the Paramount his village was the mobiliza- 726
tion centre for the whole army. The sections of the army from the 643
districts of the chiefs and the *amakanda* of the *alumuzana* assembled in the Paramount's village; there they danced *ligubo*, the war-dance; they went out from there to fight, and they returned there after fighting for the acclaiming of heroes and the distribution of the booty.

The Paramount worked through two leading office-bearers of the 701
army. One was the big war *induna* whom he appointed and on whom lay
the responsibility for planning the campaign and selecting the regiments 643
for different tasks. It was he who bore the onus of ultimate success or
failure. The other office-bearer whose activities the Paramount con-
trolled closely was the chief 'doctor' of the army, the man who some- [756]
times combined the role of diviner with that of administering 'medicines' to the army.

Finally the Paramount had the sole right of granting the head-ring to [703]
the men of a regiment who had served their time as warriors and were
allowed to marry and settle down in their villages.

701 allowed to marry and settle down in their villages.[1] Since he also had the 643 sole right of forming a new regiment of young men and giving it a name, 702 he controlled the intake to the army as well as the discharge of seasoned warriors.

The big war *induna* served directly under the Paramount. Associated 701 with him were other subordinate war leaders or *izinduna*, one of whom was always at the head of each regiment. Considerable emphasis was laid by Cibambo and other Ngoni informants on the essentially military character, in pre-European days, of the office and function of the *izinduna*, who were officials serving the whole kingdom. We shall see in Chapters III, IV and V how the term *induna* was also used for civil [642] officials at the royal village and in the courts, as well as for the men in charge of sections of a village and of houses.

The account of the mobilization of the army shows that the Ngoni 701 had changed the system of military barracks concentrated about the 171 capital, described by Gluckman as typical of the Zulu military organization and by Kuper for the Swazi. Gluckman said that the chiefs assembled their people in territorial, not age, divisions, and that the age regiments belonged to the king alone and lived in or near his capital.[2] In pre-European days the Ngoni, according to Cibambo and to other informants, had in their armies territorial divisions as well as age regiments, and there was no concentration of young warriors by age regiments round the Paramount's village.[3]

When a summons to war went forth, the warriors in the territory of 726 each chief or *mulumuzana* assembled at his head village as a *libandla*. 704 This included the warriors from the outlying villages and from the head 561 village. Cibambo's use of the term *libandla* emphasized that it was a territorial unit, divided into *mabuto* (which he called sections) on the basis of age.

When each *libandla* arrived at the Paramount's village ready for warfare, the different age groups within it joined up with their parallel age groups from other *mabandla* to form regiments. The Ngoni term for these national regiments was *mabuto*, the same term as that used for the age divisions of the *mabandla*. Old men who had been warriors in their [703] youth expressed to me many times their immense pride in their own *libuto*, and it had for them something of the tradition and prestige of a famous school. They would recite the names of other *mabuto*, beginning with their own as the most recent, and going backwards through ten or more regimental names to those who had crossed the Zambesi with

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703 [1] Cibambo in the text spoke of warriors wearing the head-ring. The usual practice, according to informants, was to give the head-ring at the end of service in the army. Cibambo may have been referring to former warriors with a head-ring putting on war-dress for a ceremony.

[2] Gluckman, M. 'The Kingdom of the Zulu', in *African Political Systems*, 1940, p. 31.

[3] One example of a concentration of young men was reported at the village of the Queen Mother in the central kingdom in 1898 in *The Central African Times*, see Memorandum XVI, International African Institute, 1938, p. 18.

Maravi FR4

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The earth does not get fat. It makes an end of the common people.
Shall we die on the earth?
The earth does not get fat. It makes an end of all beasts.
Shall we die on the earth?
Listen, you who are asleep, who are left tightly closed in the land!
Shall we all sink into the earth?
Listen, O earth! The sun is setting tightly.
We shall all enter into the earth.

CHAPTER II

THE PARAMOUNT

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Introduction

The Cewa term for chief (*mfumu*) was widely used in Nyasaland for chiefs of all ranks, as well as for village headmen and, occasionally, as an honorific form of address to an important individual. Among the Cewa a man could 'become a chief' by acquiring, through marriage or purchase, the right to own a site, known as a *msinda*, on which female initiation rites were carried out. This concept of the office of chieftainship among the Cewa and other local tribes was in sharp contrast to the centralized and unified concept inherent in the Ngoni term *inkosi*. I have translated *inkosi* here as Paramount because the term Paramount Chief was adopted by the Administration to denote a ruler who had recognized subordinate chiefs under him and whose court was an appeal court for their courts. It is necessary to emphasize here how distinctive the office of Paramount was among the various types of chiefs in Nyasaland, both in official recognition, and still more in the Ngoni ideas about their Paramount. We saw in Chapter II of Part I that no Nyasaland chiefs, except the Ngoni Paramounts, had Subordinate Native Authorities under them.

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When the Ngoni left the south, a number of small chiefdoms there were gradually being overcome by Shaka and, based on his armies, he had set up a new and unique type of *inkosi*. The leaders of military bands who left him—Mzilikazi, Soshangane, Zwangendaba and Ngwana—had little recognition before they left, except as military and clan leaders. Yet after the Ngoni left, Zwangendaba and Ngwana received from their followers recognition of their political leadership as *inkosi*, and this was expressed by giving to the Paramount the salute of *Bayete*. Throughout their recitals of traditions and in their accounts of their political system, Ngoni informants in both kingdoms emphasized that for each kingdom there was one *inkosi* to whom alone the *Bayete* was given. We assume, therefore, that the later Ngoni concept of the Paramount and his

571 643 function and authority was largely evolved and built up during the Ngoni migration across the Zambesi and the early settlement in Nyasaland.

643 The office of the Paramount was supported by three typical Ngoni institutions. The first was the regency exercised by the man who was held responsible for the care of the office of the Paramount. He was called 'the one who takes care of the country', 'the one who has to put the new *inkosi* in his place', 'the one who takes care of the young *inkosi* until he enters his father's place'. We shall see later how this principle of regency operated in particular cases in the succession to the Paramountcy. It proved to be an effective provision both in the case of a minor who was recognized as his father's heir, and during an interregnum while the succession was being discussed. The Ngoni showed a clear understanding of what functions the regent ought to perform, and when he exceeded these functions and usurped, or tried to usurp, the Paramount's position they condemned his action as wrong.

The second institution which supported the Paramountcy was the 'big house' from which the heir to the Paramount had to come. We shall see later that it was not always considered essential that the heir should be the actual child of the wife in the big house. A boy could be adopted [592] into the house and, by Ngoni kinship rules, he was then a child of that house and of the woman in it.

643 769 The third institution, which made the Paramount immortal at death after having been supreme in his life-time, was the Ngoni practice of 'guarding his spirit' in a hut, usually in the village where he had lived. The guardianship of a spirit was not practised exclusively for the Paramount. All the chiefs and the heads of the Swazi clans had this provision made for their spirits when they died, but in national crises prayers [282] addressed to the spirits of former Paramounts were of supreme importance.

The royal clan and the big house

643 614 565 184 Among the Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans which formed the Ngoni aristocracy the royal clan had a unique position. Not only was it the clan of the Paramount, but its members had social rank and prestige because they belonged to his clan. In the northern kingdom informants showed awareness of the fact that their royal clan of Jere was not one of the well-known clans in the south. Other clan names found among them, such as Ngomezulu, Thole, Nzima, Nqumayo, and many more, were known to be clan names among the South-eastern Bantu. The following explanation was given by Cibambo about the name Jere and was the one most widely accepted:

> ℭ The Ngoni themselves say that the clan name of Jere was given during the journey, and that it arose out of the number of people who were with Zwangendaba. When the Ngoni want to speak of a large number of people they use two well-known words which are: '*Ngu Shaka*' (it is Shaka);

'Ngu Jere' (it is Jere). Perhaps Zwangendaba and others took their clan name from this, seeing that they had become a great number. It is certain that the clan name of Jere is not known in Zululand or Swaziland. 643 614 565

184 In the northern kingdom all the chiefs recognized as Subordinate Native Authorities were of the royal clan, and hence its political authority was widespread. It was noticed by the early missionaries in northern Ngoniland that the sons of Zwangendaba who were chiefs under their brother, the Paramount, showed some degree of independence in that they wanted to rule their own areas with the minimum of centralized control. The pre-eminence of the Paramount among the other Jere rulers was strengthened as time went on by the remoter kinship relationship of the other Jere chiefs to the Paramount. After Zwangendaba's death they were his brothers of the same father and different mothers. Two generations later they were farther removed from his kinship circle since each of their posts was inherited on a direct father to son principle. The political and social importance of membership of the royal clan tended to go in the direct line of relationship to the Paramount rather than to the collateral branches. Later, in Part III, we shall examine the social prestige of the *amakosana* (lit. children of the *inkosi*). It was the closeness of their relationship to the reigning Paramount which was the basis for their social prestige, though evidence showed that a sister or brother or child from a big house of a former Paramount was also given social recognition as an important personage.

The royal clan of Maseko in the central kingdom was also known in Swaziland. Dr. Kuper refers to it in connexion with the Swazi custom [766] of cremating the body of the Maseko chief at his death on a rock by a river.[1] This custom was brought from the south by the Ngoni under Maseko leadership and carried out for each successive Paramount up to 1891. Among these Ngoni the royal clan had special relationships with other leading clans, but the Paramount did not share his political authority with any others of his clan. His chiefs were all of other clans, and Ngoni informants said that it was a deliberate act of the Paramount Mputa to exclude his brothers from political authority and from disputing with him the control of the kingdom. In the isolated position thus established for the royal clan, two other clans had a ritual relationship with the Paramount. One was the Phungwako clan which was custodian of the Paramount's 'medicines', known as the *tonga*. The other was the Ngozo clan which provided the companion for the Paramount whom I have called the 'royal shadow' (see below, pp. 61–3). Yet another special relationship with the royal clan was that of the Nzunga clan which had *cibale*, or brotherly relations, with the Maseko clan, that involved sharing the same avoidances and excluded inter-marriage.

The relationship of the Paramount to other leaders of the royal clan

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[1] Kuper, H. *An African Aristocracy*, p. 86.

● 643 614 565 184 was thus different in the two kingdoms. In the north he was one ruler, though a supreme one, among several ruling kinsmen of the same clan. His position in the past had been strengthened by the prestige shared by his clansmen, but also challenged by his near kinsmen in positions of authority. In the central kingdom the Paramount shared no authority with his fellow clansmen. He was unique among them as a ruler, while sharing special ritual relationships with the two other clans which supported his position without challenging it.

643 614 585 A new Paramount, in order to be installed in his father's place, had to be of the big house as well as of the royal clan. Dr. Kuper described the Swazi practice whereby cattle were contributed by the nation for the mother of the king, so that she was called the 'mother of the people of the country'. She also described the ritual marriage of the first wife of a ruler, who was called *tisulamsiti*, and who was never the mother of the heir.[1] The Ngoni Paramount-elect in the northern kingdom married his first wife when he was a young man and she was called *msulamsizi*, 'the one who takes the darkness off him'. The big wife, who would bear the heir, was married with a large gift of cattle taken from the herd of the big wife of the reigning Paramount and, after marriage, was attached to her big house. We shall discuss in greater detail in the next chapter the relationships of the royal women to the Paramount and to each other. Here it is important to note that the big house owned by the big wife was the place where the future chief was brought up. In the central kingdom the first marriage of the Paramount was traditionally with a woman of the Magagula clan who was said not to bear children. She held an honoured place in the social hierarchy and was married with cattle taken from the herd of the *gogo* house of the reigning Paramount. It was regarded as a ritual marriage, for if she did bear children they were not acknowledged. [842 847] Informants were uncertain whether methods to prevent conception were used, or whether abortion was practised, or whether children, if born, died young or were disposed of or placed out in other households. The last alternatives were unlikely, and one of the first two expedients was in line with the phrase always used of this wife: 'she did not bear children'. The wife who bore the heir was married next and was always of another leading clan, and the cattle for her came from the herd of the big house of the reigning Paramount.

643 614 The reasons were obvious why the remembered genealogies of the Ngoni Paramounts of the royal clans were short compared with the genealogies of some other African royal houses. The remote ancestors of Jere chiefs and Maseko chiefs, who were, as we have seen, not Paramounts before they left the south, were forgotten once the departure had taken place. Only a few names had been handed down and were repeated by the official praisers, whose task it was to call out the names of the direct ancestors of the Paramount before declaiming his *izibongo* or

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[1] Kuper, H. op. cit. pp. 54 & 91.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956

FR5 Ngoni FR5

praise-songs. The northern Ngoni remembered the names of five direct 643
ancestors of Zwangendaba, ancestors who had died before they left the
south, and the central Ngoni remembered the names of three direct 614
ancestors of Mputa who had died before crossing the Zambezi.[1]

The genealogy of the Jere Paramounts which was recited in the 643
northern kingdom varied in different localities. Of three versions which
I found two agreed, except in the name given for the earliest ancestor. 173

Lovuma (Kali is the alternative given by Cibambo)
Lonyanda
Magalera } Died in the south
Magangata
Hlacwayo
Zwangendaba
Mbelwa I
Mbelwa II
Mbelwa III, ruling in 1939

The list above was given by Cibambo of Ekwendeni and Simon Nhlane of Hoho, the leading member of the Nhlane clan.

Third Version:
Nyandeni
Mehlo enzhomo
Jele ka Lovuma
Nchingile
Gumede
Magangata
Hlacwayo
Zwangendaba
Mbelwa I
Mbelwa II
Mbelwa III

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[1] In 'Traditions and Prestige among the Ngoni' (*Africa*, 1936) I said (p. 466) that nine generations of ancestors were remembered in the north and seven in the centre. These referred to the Paramounts after crossing the Zambezi as well as to their ancestors who died in the south.

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The third version was given by Chinombo Jere, a grandson of Zwangendaba, who came from Emcisweni. This section of the Ngoni, under Chief Mperembe, had for a time associated with Paramount Mpeseni, and not with Mbelwa. This separation gave them a slightly different set of traditions, and they were, perhaps owing to their geographical isolation, the last group to give up the old language and dress.

An attempt to check the Emcisweni version of the Jere genealogy with that of Ekwendeni showed one piece of evidence in favour of the latter. This was the tradition preserved by the Nhlane clan that the Swazi chiefs of the Nqumayo clan had as their chief *izinduna* men of the Jere clan who were of the same age regiment. The names remembered were as follows:

Swazi chiefs	*Ngoni izinduna*
Ndwandwe	Magalela
|	|
Langa	Magangata
|	|
Zwide	Hlacwayo
|	|
Sikunyane	Zwangendaba

In the central Ngoni kingdom the following was the generally accepted version of the genealogy of the Maseko Paramounts:

Maizi no bulako }
| } Died in the south
Goqweni }
|
Ngwana Died before crossing the Zambesi
|
Mputa
|
Cikusi
|
Gomani I
|
Gomani II, ruling in 1939

After the death of Ngwana before the crossing of the Zambesi, two of his brothers in turn acted as regents. Also, on the death of Mputa, his brother Cidyawonga acted as regent. In the recital of the Paramount's genealogies, however, the names of the regents were not included.

The succession to the Paramountcy and the role of the regent

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It might appear that among a strictly patrilineal people like the Ngoni, where marriage was formalized by exchange of cattle, and where each wife had a recognized position and rank, it would have been easy to formulate rules for the succession to the Paramountcy, and that they would have been followed without deviation. Such had obviously not

been the case. It could be argued that the unsettled conditions on the northward journey made it necessary to modify rules of succession in favour of the 'strong man'. Europeans have tried to detect an element of popular choice in the appointment of the *inkosi*, or at least of a popular verdict in favour of or against a proposed candidate. Another element suggested by Ngoni informants was nomination of his heir by the dying Paramount.

There were, however, certain principles which were clear in the accounts given by informants. One was that immediately on the death of a Paramount a regent took charge of the country, of the office of the Paramount, and of the person of the heir elect, and also of the funeral rites of the dead Paramount. The provision for a regency allowed for a period of delay before announcing the successor. There was no 'The king is dead. Long live the king.' The office of the Paramount was clearly in suspense during this interregnum which had been known to last a few days, a few months, or even years—the last in the case of a successor who was a minor. During this period the regent was responsible for carrying on the work of the Paramount, and for consultation with heads of leading clans about the successor. In the past the regent was usually a brother of the dead Paramount. The traditions of the central Ngoni were, as we have seen, that after Ngwana had led them out of the south, he died before crossing the Zambesi. Two of his brothers, Magadlera who died before the Zambesi crossing and Mgoola who died near Domwe, successively acted as regents until Mputa was old enough to enter his father's place. When the time came for the end of the interregnum, it was the regent's responsibility to summon the people and present the heir to them as the new Paramount.

The assumption of authority by a regent and the provision for an interregnum make it clear that the identity of the successor was seldom a foregone conclusion even though the heir-apparent stood with a spear at his father's grave. Among the principles of succession which determined the choice of the new Paramount, one was that he should come from the big house. This could be 'arranged' by adopting him into it if there was no likely heir who had been born there. Another principle was a less easily defined qualification, that of suitability. This was discussed by the regent with the leading clan heads, who took into account the wishes of the late Paramount and the character and personality already displayed by the proposed successor, who had stood by his father's grave. Informants made it clear that responsibility for this selection weighed heavily on the regent and the leading men, for the choice once made was final, the power of the Paramount was very great, the 'medicines' used at his accession set him aside as a person of potential supernatural power, and the prosperity of the country and of everyone in it depended on this decision.

Two famous cases of disputed succession in the past had led to major

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divisions of the Ngoni kingdoms. The first occurred in the north on the death of Zwangendaba, when his brother Ntabeni became regent, and this dispute revolved round the principle that the heir should come from the big house. It led to the final split between Mpeseni and Mbelwa, the setting up of two kingdoms, and the giving of the '*Bayete*' to two Paramounts of the Jere clan. The following account was given by Chief Mtwalo Jere, son of the Mtwalo mentioned, and he told it to me in his own village of Ezondweni. It brings out the function and position of the regent; the relation of 'house' to 'village'; the influence of the popular verdict on the choice of a successor; the magnanimous attitude of other possible rivals for the Paramountcy; and the effect of personal quarrels on a national matter.

¶ Ntabeni went to the house of Munene, the mother of Mbelwa. She insulted him and would not give him beer. Zwangendaba went to bathe and when he returned Ntabeni said to him 'I have been insulted by your wife. She called me "Sutu".' This is a great insult among the Ngoni.[1] Zwangendaba was very angry, and he took a pan and fried groundnuts, and said to his wife 'You must take the groundnuts in your hand.' Her hands were very burnt because the groundnuts were too hot. 'You are burnt because you must not abuse this your brother-in-law. You are punished.' Zwangendaba died. Ntabeni was taking care of the country. He was the right man to put the *inkosi*. He said to Mbelwa: 'You are not a chief because your mother abused me.' So Mpeseni was *inkosi*, and the second was Mtwalo. They chased away Mbelwa. When Mpeseni was elected to be *inkosi* all the people were complaining because they said the chieftainship should be for the village of Elangeni. The people of Elangeni and of Ekwendeni did not want Mpeseni as *inkosi*.

Ntabeni died. The people of Elangeni and of Ekwendeni wanted to fight Ntabeni's people because they were not told of his death, and when he was buried they were not there. The Ntabeni people went away to Tanganyika. All the rest left Ufipa and came to Cidlodlo. Mpeseni and Mperembe stayed there and the rest came to Coma. Then Mperembe returned from Mpeseni.

Mtwalo said to Mbelwa 'You are the right man to be *inkosi*. I am not the right man because through jealousy Ntabeni gave the *inkosi* to Mpeseni.' Then they gave '*Bayete*' to Mbelwa.

Cibambo, whose father was *mlomo wenkosi* (mouthpiece of the chief) in Ekwendeni for old Mtwalo mentioned above, confirmed this part of the story of the succession and the role played by Ntabeni as regent. He also gave in his book [2] the most coherent account of an earlier dispute about which wife of Zwangendaba was the big wife—a dispute which illustrated the significance of the house in the succession.

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[1] Bryant, in *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, said (p. 134) that 'Sutu' was an insult because it meant 'barbarian'—one who had not had his ears pierced according to the custom of the Zulu.

[2] Cibambo, Y. M. *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*. London, 1942, chaps. V & VI.

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A disputed succession in the central kingdom arose over a struggle between Cikusi, the son of the Paramount Mputa, and Cifisi, the son of the regent Cidyawonga who took care of the kingdom after Mputa's death. When the regent died, his son Cifisi claimed the succession and war broke out between the followers of the two claimants. After fighting had continued through two generations of claimants the state under Cifisi seceded and became independent, though the '*Bayete*' was only given to Cikusi and his descendants of Mputa's main line. The following account was given in the royal village of the central kingdom by a former regent assisted by an official reciter of tradition. It related to the succession to Mputa, who died in the Songea district of Tanganyika, and to the defeat of these Ngoni by the followers of Zulu Gama. After this defeat the Ngoni under Cidyawonga returned to the west side of the lake and built on Domwe mountain.

> ❡ When they burned the body of Mputa, Cidyawonga stood with Cikusi, and that was the sign that Cikusi was still young but was *inkosi*. Cidyawonga was the brother of Mputa. The people told Cidyawonga 'We are in war. You must help us.' They took Cikusi and put him in the big house, because there were no children there.
>
> Cidyawonga was the regent when they built on Domwe. When he was about to die he said to the people 'Now I leave this country in the hands of the owner, because I was only appointed to keep it for him. This is your leader.' He sent for Cikusi and gave him his father's spear, saying to him 'This country is yours.' He said to Cifisi, his own son, 'You my son do not struggle with Cikusi. He is the only Paramount here.' Cidyawonga we did not burn because he had cared for the Paramountcy. And when Cidyawonga died we put Cikusi in his place.

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The relation between the regent and the Paramount emerged again from the confusion following the death of Paramount Gomani I in 1896 at the hands of the British. The record in the *Ncheu District Note Book* said that authority was divided between the dead Paramount's brother, Mandala, and NaMlangeni, the mother of Cikusi the former Paramount. After the Portuguese-Nyasaland boundary was fixed dividing the Ngoni territory, the Portuguese entered their section to administer it. NaMlangeni and Mandala resisted their entry and were taken prisoners and died. Meantime a big *mulumuzana* of Paramount Gomani I had acted as regent for his heir who had been placed in the big house. The following account by the treasurer of Gomani II described the situation during the early years of the minority of the Paramount.

> ❡ Chief Gomani II was born in 1893. The country was destroyed by the Europeans when this child was three years old, and he was taken care of by the big *mulumuzana* of his father, Cakumbira Mpalale Ndau. When the war of the Europeans had finished, they built the village of Lizulu, near Mlenda mountain, where the Dutch mission is today. The child was with them in that village.

643 When the European Mr. Walker asked the big people whether Gomani I left any children, those big people refused to tell and said 'He did not leave children, they died when they were small.' They feared lest perhaps the Europeans wanted to kill the children too. Mr. Walker (they called him Cipyoza, 'the thing that goes on boring a hole') did not stop asking because he said 'Gomani was my friend and I want to help his children.' On his second journey they revealed to him that there were two children in the village here, and they named the heir Philip Gomani and his younger brother William Gomani who died in 1919. Then Mr. Walker rejoiced. When they brought the children out before his eyes, he gave them gifts which he brought for them, clothes and other things.

The accession of the Paramount and the royal medicines

When the succession of the new Paramount had been decided according to the principles just discussed, the regent had the further responsibility of presenting the new Paramount to the people. This presentation was the act of accession and, as we have seen, it might take place a short time or a longer time after the death of the former Paramount. In describing the accession and the ritual accompanying it, I shall use illustrations from the central kingdom, partly because the material there was more co-ordinated and more complete, especially that relating to the religious and magical significance of the ritual, and also because the unique feature of the 'royal shadow' in relation to the Paramount was, so far as I could tell, peculiar to that area.

The actual accession of the new Paramount had four main elements in it. The first was the decision as to the individual who was to succeed, which was taken by the regent and the senior men. The second was the 'placing' (*kuimika*) of the chosen successor, which was the announcement to the people that he was the Paramount. The third was the instruction by the senior men, and the fourth was the administering of 'medicines' to strengthen the Paramount.

The two following accounts relate to the accession of Gomani I. The first is by Captain Rattray and was included in his collection of Nyanja texts.[1] It was dictated to him by a man who was present at the death and cremation of Cikusi. At the end of this text there is a brief reference to the acknowledgment of the new Paramount:

[516] ❡ They allow three days to pass [after the funeral], and on the fourth every one assembles and the new chief stands at the village court on one leg. One old man steps out and says, 'Do you hear? Your new chief is so and so' (naming him by his clan-animal name). Then everyone shouts '*Bayete*', and the thunder of their shields is heard, and all around is a mass of waving plumes. Then the elders take the 'child', going with him to a hut to give him instruction, saying "Today you stand alone. Look after

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[1] Rattray, R. S. *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja.* London, S.P.C.K. 1907.

your people as did your father before you. If a man be at fault, forgive 643 him; but the sin of adultery cannot be pardoned.'

Habuya Dube, the official 'praiser' of Paramount Gomani II, had been present at the funeral of Cikusi, and he confirmed that the ceremony of accession was as described above and added these further details:

¶ At the time of the burning of the body of Cikusi, Gomani stood up in [766] the smoke, standing on one leg with a shield in his hand. When all had been consumed by the fire, they began to open the waters and the grave-digger swept the ashes. And they picked up Gomani and went with him to the mound so that he should wash. When these things were over, we left the water to go to the house. We were dancing *ligubo* in the open place and Gomani had a headdress of *luve* [1] feathers on his head. And they followed him into the house, but all the people were dancing *ligubo* in the *bwalo* for a whole month. When the mourning was over, Bvumbwe Maseko said 'Now let us establish (*tiimike*) our chief.' So he was established.

The 'standing on one leg' referred to in both texts is the position [516] adopted by other East and South-east African people when resting supported by the spear, with one foot flat against the other knee and the shield in front of the body. Other men inheriting their father's position stood at the grave holding a spear, but only those of the Maseko clan, succeeding the Paramount in the direct line, adopted the position of standing on one leg. 'Placing' or establishing the Paramount was done before a large gathering of people with the warriors in full war-dress, described graphically in terms of the waving head-plumes and the thunder of the shields. It was evident that all discussion of who would or would not be a suitable Paramount went on within the closed circle of the regent and the senior men, and the people were presented with the chosen Paramount whom they acclaimed.

The instruction by the senior men was a reminder to the new Paramount that, though his new powers were extensive and unique in their authority, he should not act like a cruel despot. There are references in the *Ncheu District Note Book* [2] to the passing-over of an elder brother of Gomani I on the grounds that he was of a fierce and cruel disposition, though, according to Ngoni informants, this man Mandala was a younger brother of Cikusi and an uncle of Gomani, and thus was not eligible to be Paramount. In discussing the type of man who was considered suitable to be Paramount, Ngoni informants always laid stress on [183] the need for him not to be fierce and cruel. This pointed to an ideal type of Paramount and did not agree with European accounts of large-scale poison ordeals at Cikusi's court. The instruction to the new Paramount

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[1] Feathers worn only by the Paramount.

[2] *Ncheu District Note Book*. 1891.

643 so briefly referred to was in the nature of a warning that the kingdom must be held together and certain Ngoni customs and institutions preserved. This general mandate to a new Paramount was in keeping with the Ngoni policy of maintaining order and justice within the kingdom, while showing all the aggressive qualities of warfare against external enemies.

173 643 In the story of their northward trek, the division of authority among the central Ngoni between the Maseko and the Phungwako clans was referred to as the Maseko taking the '*Bayete*' and the Phungwako taking [789] the *tonga*.[1] In central Ngoniland the *tonga* was a collective name given to royal medicines used at different times for different purposes and was not reserved for the medicine used in the army as in the northern kingdom. It was said to have been 'from the beginning in the south'; 'it is very old, ever since people were born'. The following description was given by a member of the Phungwako clan in the head village of Chief Kacere:

643 789 ¶ The Ngoni had protection for all their people of the most powerful kind. This was the *tonga*. This was specially to protect the Paramount at his accession. When the Ngoni were thus accustomed to being protected by the *tonga*, there was one thing which gave them protection above all others. If the Paramount died, in arranging matters, the *tonga* was essential in establishing the new Paramount. And if war had to be made, the *tonga* also gave protection so that they had strength to overcome their enemies.

[791] Also when the Ngoni were travelling in wild places and did not find somewhere to stay, they began to listen to the *tonga*. The diviner, who went ahead with the *tonga*, looked to see if there were bad omens. When they found a place to stay and stayed there with their cattle, they were protected by the *tonga*, so that they were not afraid of anything. They just conquered the country and took the cattle and made the people surrender.

[825] When getting ready the *tonga*, they could only do it with a sheep. They killed it, and took its blood and its fat and smeared the *tonga*. And the big people who were set aside for the work of the *tonga*, it was they who were doing these things. The meat of the sheep which was killed for the *tonga*, they did not eat it just anyhow, no. They were eating it in a special way, not in the house, no; nor with the women, no; but in a very different way from the meat of every day. They ate it without being greedy when it was divided, and they took care not to put some aside, for they feared lest someone should eat the *tonga*. They just ate to finish it quickly, and when they had finished they did not sleep in their houses with their wives, but they went apart and slept in the place where this was done for the *tonga*. Their sleeping was different from other days, for they did not sleep on good mats, no. When they had eaten meat for the *tonga* they changed their ways, to act differently from usual. Instead of

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[1] The head of the Phungwako clan, Chief Kacere, ruled one of the Ngoni states in the Dedza district which, in the 1930's, was separate from the central Ngoni kingdom.

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sleeping on mats they slept on grass until the required days were finished, and they scattered to their homes.

This account brings out certain elements in the ritual surrounding the *tonga*. The word *tonga* in the Ngoni language means 'rod', and was used in the very ancient folk tale *Intonga yetusi*, 'The Brass Rod'. There was no rod, however, nor anything representing one, among the medicines or ingredients which together made up the *tonga*. A descendant of one of the early 'guardians' of the *tonga* said about it:

¶ The *tonga* is the horn of a sheep, and the horn by itself has no real power, but there are other things which give it power like the rib of a lion. [778]

It is clear that in the past the *tonga* was regarded as giving protection to the Ngoni people, particularly by providing medicine at the accession of a new Paramount when he needed medicine for strengthening.

Other informants from the Phungwako clan said that the *tonga* provided the medicine with which the Paramount washed at the time of *incwala*, the feast of the first-fruits. No one alive in the 1930's had seen that ceremony and the special songs had been forgotten. A tradition remained that the Paramount had to undergo seclusion and ritual washing with medicines before the first green crops could be eaten. [778]

Throughout the references to the *tonga* there was no hint that it was ever worshipped or addressed in any way similar to the invocations to the ancestor spirits. It was clearly a 'medicine' possessing great power and guarded as a national treasure. The ingredients of the medicine were kept in a particular way, in a particular place, in the guardianship of a particular person. I have seen the ingredients, the place and the guardian, but I gave a promise not to reveal them. I was allowed to handle the objects and, after doing so, I had to perform the ritual act of washing my hands with cowdung. This was the form of ritual cleansing practised by the Paramount after using the medicines. [515 783]

There were two ways in which these medicines were used by the Paramount to strengthen him on his accession. He washed in the kraal with the medicines whipped into a foam. The old men said that in ancient times the water for making the medicines had to be fetched from the sea. In addition to washing he had to eat meat in which the medicines were mixed. The majority of informants said that beef was used for this ritual eating, while others said that, as in the ritual for preparing the *tonga*, the meat taken was sheep. This ritual was said to have taken place for the last time at the death of Cikusi and the accession of Gomani I, though it was hinted that it had been performed at the accession of the Ngoni chief of the Maseko clan now living in Portuguese territory.

It was clear that the Maseko Paramounts made use of the *tonga* as a royal medicine both at their accession and in time of war. The reference [766]

643 789 766 to its use at the *incwala* ceremony and dance was a reminder of the former belief in the close connexion between the health and strength of the Paramount and the fertility of the land and its crops, a belief which had its counterpart in the cremation of the Paramount and the sweeping of the ashes into the river to fertilize the land.

241 796 The *incwala*, or ceremony of the first-fruits, was of great importance among the Swazi, and the Ngoni 'took it with them' when they left the south. Among the northern and central Ngoni the tradition of the ceremony remained, but the practice was given up before the kingdoms were finally established. Cibambo collected from the old men in the northern kingdom the following account of what took place at the *incwala:*

¶ Among the dances of the Ngoni, *ngoma*, *umsindo*, *ligubo*, *incwala* was the best and most important. They say it lasted about two weeks, or if it [643 424] began when the moon was full until it became new again. When they said '*incwala* is closed', no one sings or dances it again; when it begins everyone sings the songs of *incwala* and no others. This dance belonged to the [178] Paramount of the whole country. A description of *incwala* is difficult because it was given up long ago. Even the old people of today have never seen it.

It began in the middle of the month of *Intokoni* (January). Young men were sent to look for ripe food in the gardens by streams. The owners had not picked any nor was much of the crop nearly ready. They took some juicy stalks of maize, and pumpkins with their roots. They also looked for [824 224] a wild fruit like a gourd, very bitter, which some people use to stir up their dogs to make them fierce in hunting and quick in scent. This fruit the Ngoni call *igumuzo*. These they mix with medicines and the *inkosi* eats it without the people knowing. The belief was that if the Paramount ate the first-fruits carelessly, or if the people were the first to taste the first-fruits of the year, there would be disaster for the *inkosi* and the country. After a month, when the crops were ripening, the *incwala* began, the crops not being completely ripe and no one having yet tasted the new crops.

In the month of February the *inkosi* announced that everywhere the *incwala ye'nkosi* should begin on such-and-such a day. Quickly much beer was cooked in all the villages by everyone. On the day the beer-making began, the dance began also. The word was sent round everywhere: *incwala seigwabuliwe*, '*incwala* is now opened'. All the people went to the central village of Elangeni, the village of Hlacwayo. They took crops which had been planted in December, *impala*, and added the first *igumuzo* fruit to them. Great crowds of people gathered at Elangeni and danced. Many were in the kraal but many more were dancing outside. All were dressed carefully. They danced with reeds in their hands or with the sticks of their shields. It seemed as though the song everywhere was the same. Women going for wood and water, and children and youths, [535] wherever they went, the song was on their lips. In dancing the women were by themselves, and the men by themselves. They faced each other in the dance. They were bending their bodies backwards and forwards, and moving their necks and shoulders.

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The *inkosi* was all this time as if he were mourning and fasting. He was in the house. His body was painted with medicines, black, red and white; and round his loins was painted with black medicine. He was kept naked except for the cover of his foreskin. They fed him with the first-fruits mixed with medicines. They said that both the Paramount and all the people were fasting and under discipline at that time.

When the time for closing the *incwala* came, they again took the fruit *igumuso* and threw it in among the dancers and called out '*incwala seimbonyiwe*', 'the *incwala* is closed'. Then the people began to separate and to go home, still with the songs on their lips, and on the way cutting juicy stalks of new maize and picking leaves of pumpkins, which meant that the new crops were set free.

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These two fragments of the old *incwala* songs, which, like the war songs, were full of 'sounds' like *xi xi*, *oxi ya*, were the only ones preserved. They were known only by one or two old men among the northern and central Ngoni.

1. He comes the one who hates the chief.
   Did you not see him?
   You have seen him.

2. You who are rejected
   They are carrying him lightly
   To thrash him
   He, the stiff-necked one.

The Royal Shadow

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The special relationship between a new *inkosi* of the Maseko clan and a member of the Ngozo clan was personal and individual. I have translated it as 'royal shadow', since in discussing the relationship with leading members of the Ngozo, Nzunga and Phungwako clans the word *mtunzi* was the one most frequently used. *Mtunzi* is the term used for the shadow of a person or object cast by the sun; also for shade from the sun; also in modern phraseology for a photograph, when it is generally used in its double form, *mtunzitunzi*. In the descriptions of this relationship there seemed almost a reluctance to use a definite term. The informants kept on saying that the Ngozo boy was *monga mtunzi*, like a shadow. While they enumerated the many things he did *with* the Paramount, they avoided giving him or his relationship any specific name.

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This relationship began at the accession of a new Paramount and lasted until his death when the Ngozo man leaped on to the funeral pyre, and it was marked by certain special features. On the death of the old Paramount, and before the new Paramount was given the medicine for strengthening him, a boy of the Ngozo clan was sent 'to enter the chieftainship' with the Paramount. Many cattle from the herd belonging to the big house were given to the Ngozo family from whom the boy

643 came, 'to quieten them'. Thereafter this Ngozo boy did everything with
the Paramount. He began by washing with the royal medicine at the
644 time of the accession. He drank beer with him, he ate with him, he
762 'stood with him' (*amaima naye*) on all important occasions, such as
766 sending out the army and judging cases. He slept in his own hut which
was in the *cigodlo*, where the Paramount's sons built, and when he married he built huts for his wives in that same section of the royal village. At the death of the Paramount, he danced the war-dance in full war-dress and leaped on to the pyre to perish with the dead Paramount in the flames.

Informants sometimes said of this Ngozo boy that he was 'of one
[582] blood' with the Maseko clan. They described the relationship between
the two clans as that of *cibale*, brotherhood, which excluded all possi-
[602] bility of inter-marriage. Between the Paramount and the Ngozo boy was
established a joking relationship, so that the Ngozo boy could say 'good and bad things to the Paramount'.

It was clear that the ritual and social aspects of this relationship com-
643 plemented and supported each other. The recurrent emphasis on the
644 taking of medicine at the accession, on the participation in the war
medicines, and most of all on the death on the Paramount's funeral pyre, were all evidence of this ritual relationship. Informants repudiated any idea of a scapegoat which involved protecting the Paramount from poison by eating before him. They reiterated several times that the Ngozo boy did not eat *before* the Paramount; in fact he ate after him though sharing his food dishes. Surrounding the Paramount were other boys called *micetho*, who performed the duties of pages or personal servants. The Ngozo boy was always distinct from them, and the distinction lay in the combined ritual and social relationship.

The concept of a 'shadow' was of something very close to a person, almost indistinguishable from the person himself. In referring to the Ngozo boy in the terms 'he was as the shadow of the *inkosi*; he was as himself', informants emphasized the extreme closeness of the tie between the two men. It seemed as if the royal shadow existed to meet a need for strengthening the Paramount by giving him a second self. It emphasized also the dangerous sphere of life and action in which the Paramount lived, due to the medicines he had used, his powers to protect the land and its fertility, and his power to give strength to the army through the use of the *tonga* medicine. No one else in the royal family shared these dangers and there was inherent in the relationship of royal shadow to *inkosi* the sense of some security through a companionship where protective medicines were shared as well as the hazardous occasions for which they gave protection.

643 This intense and dangerous ritual relationship was buttressed by
644 the social ties binding the Ngozo boy to the Paramount. We have seen
608 that between them as individuals there was that freedom of a joking

relationship, described in terms of brotherhood, and this brotherhood 643
was further emphasized by the ban on inter-marriage between the Ngozo
and Maseko clans. The significance of the Ngozo boy, when he became 644
a man, building in the *cigodlo* where the Paramount's sons built, was 608
often stressed by informants. Though his huts were in this *cigodlo* section of the royal village, as if he were a son of the Paramount's family, the Paramount never said 'child' to him but invariably 'brother'.

In all the occasions of daily life, as well as in those of special ritual significance, the Ngozo boy stood or sat next to the Paramount. The Ngoni insisted that the status of a man or woman should be expressed
in terms of sitting or standing in order of precedence. Sitting or standing [554]
next to the Paramount implied that that individual had the highest possible social status. The leading members of the Ngozo clan in their villages displayed an awareness of their social prestige which was very noticeable. This high rank was, however, in the past bought with a price —that of sharing in the dangers of the Paramountcy. This was acknowledged through the gift of cattle to the boy's family, sent at the time when he 'entered the chieftainship' with the Paramount.

The institution of the royal shadow came to an end with the advent 643
of the Europeans. An Ngozo man acted as a royal shadow on the accession
of Cikusi but did not die on his funeral pyre. When Cikusi's son 644
Gomani I was installed as *inkosi*, an Ngozo boy 'entered the chieftainship' 178
with him and stood with him 'in the smoke of the *tonga*' when the army went to war. It was this Gomani I who was killed by the British, and there was no royal ritual at this death, and no cremation in a stream in which the Ngozo boy could share. The royal shadow retired in those troubled days to his father's village, where he died in 1937. It was alleged that no Ngozo man stood in this relationship to Gomani II, either at his accession, which took place during the period of Direct Rule, or in 1933 when his Paramount Chieftaincy was recognized. Informants showed a certain hesitation in answering direct questions on this topic, which was attributable partly to the fact that the Paramount was a Christian, and partly to a reluctance to discuss the continued use of 'royal medicines'. The following account of the royal shadow was given by informants of the Nzunga and Ngozo clans.

¶ When the Paramount entered the chieftainship he stood with a man from the Ngozo clan. The Ngozo people are of one blood with the Paramount, because they stand together when entering the chieftainship. When the Paramount of the Maseko dies, he dies together with one of the Ngozo. It was so when there died Ngwana, Mputa, Cikusi.

When the Ngoni came into this country they stopped killing an Ngozo man when the Paramount died. When the Paramount died a young man of the Ngozo clan just stood beside the body of the Paramount, and when making the funeral pyre of the Paramount, he also was there until they set fire to it. If anyone wanted to kill an Ngozo man by the

643 644 [178] water and the pyre, he was refusing, saying 'No, not in these days, but formerly.'

When Magona Ngozo was with Cikusi he was staying with him in the daytime. Magona had his own huts and Cikusi his. When eating, Cikusi ate alone, but afterwards he gave food to Magona. When Cikusi was washing it was together with Magona. When he went to the bush, they went together. When Cikusi was washing with the *tonga*, he was doing it with Magona. When the warriors were going out, Cikusi and Magona stood together, and they made fire for the medicines and they stood together in the smoke and then the warriors went out. So, when mentioning Magona, they said: 'the shadow of Cikusi'. When they were eating in the *bipalo*, the *nsima* (porridge) was brought to Cikusi, but if some *alumuzana* came, the wives of Magona cooked *nsima* and gave it to the *alumuzana*. When Cikusi died, Magona could take his wives if he wanted. The Ngozo man could tell the Paramount anything, good or bad, and stay like the mouth of the Paramount.

[762] When the Paramount died formerly, the Ngozo man dressed in his war-dress. When he came near the fire he danced with the shield in his hand. When the fire blazed up he ran and jumped on the fire. So the Maseko people gave cattle to the Ngozo people, to quieten their hearts because they were brothers. And when another Paramount was installed they gave an Ngozo man to stand with him. The father of the man who died with the Paramount received cattle and villages to rule over and gifts. The Paramounts gave cattle because they said: 'Since our brother is going to stand with the Paramount, if that Paramount dies, he also will be killed, so the Paramount ought to give cattle like *lobola* so they may quieten the hearts of his brothers.' Though these cattle are not given for a woman but for a man, any Maseko man ought not to marry an Ngozo woman because there is this brotherhood.

And this man of the Ngozo clan was like a chief because he had men to manage his affairs at his door, as did the Paramount. And if he died his funeral was like that of a chief. But the day the Paramount died the Ngozo man was killed. When the Paramount washed with medicines, he was washing with the Ngozo man. When drinking beer, he was drinking in the same hut as the Paramount. When the Paramount was sacrificing he was together with the Ngozo man, and they did not leave each other.

The Ngozo people have a thanking name (*isibongo*) Maphonya. It is they who were standing with the Paramounts, and the Ngozo people were [262] in the section of Ziyembe. Their avoidances were the same as all the Ngoni, especially fish and elephant. When Cikusi died Gulo stood with Gomani when he entered the chieftainship. Gulo was the son of Magona.

The royal village and the daily routine of the Paramount

643 361 644 In Part I, Chapter II we referred to the process by which each Paramount, after his accession, went out from his father's village to build his own. The Ngoni called this *ukupumisa inkosi* (to send out the Paramount) and the term used for the new village, *lusungulu* (the needle), was said to signify 'the front village where you expect to find the Paramount'.

Dr. Kuper described the Swazi king making his own capital, but referred also to the existence of several royal villages where the wives of the reigning king lived.[1] The Ngoni system of one royal village which went out from the former royal village resulted in a series of social groups, based on residence, which were related to past Paramounts and their widows and to present Paramounts and their wives. The diagram in Chapter III of Part I shows a very much simplified form of the component parts of a new royal village and their relationship illustrated by the siting of the huts. 643 361 644

The following text was given by an elderly widow of a grandson of Zwangendaba, in the head village of Chief Mperembe in the northern kingdom.

> ❡ When a new village, *lusungulu*, was built the *indlunkulu* was first erected and then followed all the other huts of the *inkosi* in order. Those huts which belonged to the *indlunkulu* took the right-hand side facing the kraal. The second house took the left-hand side, and all huts belonging to this one followed it. Such huts could be counted as belonging to the *indlunkulu* and the second house by the cattle that were taken from such houses. To marry a new wife, if the *inkosi* took cattle from the right-hand house that new wife would belong there. All the huts of each house of the *inkosi* were built at the back of the hut of the owner of that house.
>
> When erecting huts, those of the *izinduna* came next and were built next to those of the *inkosi*. After that they built their own according to their *izigawa* or divisions.
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> All the huts at the back of the *indlunkulu* and behind the other huts were called *cigodlo*. Huts near the gate of the kraal at the left were called *kwa cikulu*.

This text brings out the fact that each new royal village had three main elements in it: the mothers of the Paramount, his wives, and the *izinduna* and their families. The Paramount was always accompanied to his new village by one or more wives of his father, *ukalondolosa mntwana* (to keep the son). One of these was usually his own mother and she occupied the *indlunkulu*. The text points out that the big wife of the Paramount was on the right of the *indlunkulu*, and closely associated with its owner, the Paramount's mother. [592 644]

There was no fixed rule for the number of *izinduna* in charge of the houses of the Paramount's mothers and wives. When the Ngoni kingdoms were established in Nyasaland, the royal villages were very large and the divisions of the village, called in the text *izigawa*, were small hamlets. Each division was generally identified with a house, and in that case the *induna* in charge of the house was also in charge of the division. The original composition of royal villages could only be reconstructed by tracing the relationships of separate villages in the 1930's to their former parent village. This will be illustrated in the next chapter on the

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[1] Kuper, H. op. cit. p. 41.

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royal women. In the royal villages in the 1930's there was one big *induna* and several lesser ones whose position and functions will be described in Chapter IV.

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This 'going out' of the new Paramount's village, leaving the former Paramount's village as the *gogo* village, brought about some re-distribution of authority, prestige and material goods. It gave the new Paramount his own village, always to be known as his, even after his death. His village became the focal meeting-place for the territory and for the court and territorial officials who surrounded the Paramount; and it was to the new royal village that the *alumuzana* in pre-European days came frequently to visit the Paramount and report to him on conditions in their areas. His moving out of the *gogo* village, on the other hand, gave his brothers who stayed there, and especially those of the *gogo* house, more freedom and authority within that village as well as responsibility for the conduct of all ritual matters relating to the kingdom. The Paramount's big wife had to take her place as the leading woman in the new village and to order the affairs of the wives attached to her house in consultation with the Paramount's mother. Cattle, beer and food for the royal household became the concern of the new village, and the *izinduna* and the royal women had to plan and manage the economy of a capital where political interests converged and where visitors and hangers-on were constantly turning up.

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The following text by Chief Mtwalo Jere in Mzimba district, helped by Cibambo's older brother, describes the daily routine of the Paramount and his royal village as they had known it in their youth before the coming of the Europeans:

> ℂ The *inkosi* had to wash very early before the people came to see him. The *ingceko* was the servant who took care of washing the *inkosi*. He had to go with the *inkosi* to the bush and hide the faeces to prevent any bad person from getting the faeces. The *ingceko* was anyone whom the *inkosi* called for this, and must be one who walks well with the *inkosi*.
>
> Before leaving his house to go to the kraal the *inkosi* had to eat a little porridge. When he went to the kraal a calabash of beer was brought to him. When any beer was brought to the *inkosi*, the *ingceko* tasted it first to see if it was good. The *inkosi* asked 'Is it good beer?' and the *ingceko* said 'Yes *inkosi*' and gave it to the *inkosi* to drink. When the *inkosi* took snuff the big *alumuzana* could beg from him. The other *amadoda* could only touch their noses. Then the *inkosi* knew they were begging snuff from him. Where the *inkosi* sat a mat was spread, and on it was laid a leopard- or a lion-skin. This was called 'the chair of the *inkosi*'. On arrival the big *alumuzana* went straight into the kraal to where the *inkosi* sat and greeted him '*Bayete*', and sat down in front of him.
>
> The *inkosi* could not eat porridge except that cooked by his own wives. In his own hut he ate alone with one wife to serve him. His mothers also came with food every day. He ate twice in his own hut, early and late, and once in the kraal. When he ate in the kraal all could see him. He could

> not eat so much as other people. He must leave enough for others or he would be ashamed. He would take a few lumps of porridge from one wooden dish (*ingcwembe*) and then hand the other dishes to those around him. Each day one beast had to be killed from the house of each wife of the *inkosi* in turn. It was their food and they could not cease killing. The *inkosi* had his own great garden. After hoeing the *induna* of the *indlunkulu* called all the village people to come and plant these gardens first before their own. They did this because if a man was hungry, he went to the *inkosi* and said 'I am hungry' and he was given food to eat. 643 644 512

In this account it is clear that the daily life of the Paramount had both private and public aspects. In private he was vulnerable to attacks from enemies. Hence he depended on the services of a trusted attendant to see that no sorcerers could make bad magic from his excreta; and he ate no food except that prepared by his own wives and mothers. On the other hand, in public he appeared as the generous and ceremonious ruler, providing food, beer and snuff for his visitors, and himself practising that restraint in eating which was characteristic of Ngoni good manners both from host and guest. 643 [754] [264 574]

In addition to the daily routine of sharing food with his immediate entourage and chance visitors, the Paramount had special feasts known as *isiphiko*. These feasts, as described by Cibambo, were related to the bringing of tribute, thus emphasizing the reciprocal nature of the gifts passing between the people and the Paramount. 643 651 431 527

> ¶ Along with the tribute the *inkosi* had his feasts with which he wanted to feed his people. At an appointed time the *inkosi* and his wives and mothers prepared beer and three or four beasts for his men and women. Men ate their meat in the kraal but the women at the *indlunkulu*. All the people thanked him everywhere, including the women, and the men were thanking with dancing. Even although people were not called by the *inkosi*, yet many people came to his village to beg food from the *inkosi*. Also by telling the *izinduna* the *inkosi* would invite people to eat with him, and many would come from far away. The wives of the *inkosi* and his mothers were cooking soft or hard porridge, with different *imbido* (relishes) so that the *inkosi* could give them to his people. They would all be waiting in the kraal. A generous *inkosi* liked to stay in the kraal so that his food should be sent there in order to feed both notable people and poor people. He would be watching whom to give food to. 571
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> In this way although there was tribute (*imitulo*), it was not very burdensome. People did not complain to the *inkosi* about it. It was as if they were playing, because of the dancing. Those who had no wealth came to the *inkosi* and begged him to help them. The *inkosi* gave cattle to these people without asking them to pay again, because he said 'The people and the cattle, they are all mine. They are eating each other.'

There was an apparent contradiction here. On the one hand there was true reciprocity, that of the people who brought tribute or gifts and in

643 turn were invited to eat with the Paramount or summoned to special
feasts. On the other hand there were people who seemed to have nothing,
651 and who came in the hope of getting invited to eat food if they just
431 sat in the kraal and looked hungry. Cibambo called them 'the notable
527 people' and 'the poor people'. This contrast in behaviour ran right
through Ngoni society and reflected the social standing of individuals
571 who behaved in such different ways. There was a good deal of cadging for gifts and of gate-crashing at feasts on the part of people who had no intention, or no possibility, of making any adequate return. An Ngoni proverb illustrated the public attitude to reciprocal giving as distinct from begging: 'To say: Give, give, is to snatch. The child of a free man only gives.'

571 The bringing of tribute to the Paramount was only one aspect of the
reciprocal relationships which ran right through Ngoni society, namely
643 the bringing of gifts by a man in an inferior social position to his
651 superior, with the expectation of receiving food or favour and of standing
431 well with this superior. It was recognized that tribute was of two kinds, one of which was voluntary. If a *mulumuzana* or other notable wanted to please the Paramount he brought him presents—grain, flour, meat, beer. It was always emphasized that this was a free gift, with the added proviso that the giver wished to keep on good terms with the Paramount. Ngoni informants declared that the only compulsory form of tribute in pre-European days was that whenever a lion or a leopard was killed it had to be brought to the royal village through a succession of intermediaries, as described below.

These two principles of free giving and compulsory giving, and the attitudes engendered, are compared with the feeling about compulsory taxes under European rule in this text by Cibambo.

¶ Although people hate giving taxes to strangers in this land, yet tribute (*imitulo*) was given to their *inkosi* and to other chiefs. Such tribute was given in an indirect way, that is the *izinduna* did not mark out those who gave and who did not give tribute. The Ngoni did not wish that every male should give tribute as is done by Europeans today. They were just pleased if the village headman or *mulumuzana* had given something even though other people in his village did not give anything. Even the *alumuzana* themselves gave something at the time they thought it was convenient to themselves to give. There was no fixed time of the month or year. Much that was given as tribute was beer, meat, ivory, hoes and cloth, also cattle, sheep and goats after raids, and other loot from war.

[825] Power to 'eat' (*ukudla*) lion- and leopard-skins was given to certain
people of the Swazi clans, but all the rest were obliged to bring them in. The lion- or leopard-skin had to be given first to the village headman. He went with it to the chief or *mulumuzana*. This one brought it to the *inkosi* along with his *amadoda* or *amajaha* of all his villages, the older men and younger men. This was like going as warriors and they went with dancing
[554] (*ligubo*). The one who first stabbed the animal was pointed out, and the

second and third, and the finisher, at the place of dancing in the kraal. At 571
such times each one when called rose and danced *umgiya*, repeating his 643
names. This was called *ukubiha izinhalipi*, reporting the heroes or the
fierce ones. This is still being done today. The *inkosi* thanked the people 651
who brought the skins by giving them a beast or a goat. When they were
dressing the meat and eating it, they kept on dancing *ligubo* and crying the 431
war-cry. At such times the women went along with the men to help them [557]
dance *ligubo*. They made the responses to the songs and jerked their necks.

All such things the *inkosi* divided among his houses. The big house had a big share, but especially his mother's house. She should have most. Even if his real mother was dead, the big share had to go there, to her house, where her successor lived.

Visits to the Paramount, whether for a particular occasion or as a 643
matter of routine, were hedged about with ceremonial. It was expected 574
that *alumuzana* and other important people who lived near enough 576
would visit the Paramount frequently and, according to some inform- 644
ants, they went every day in pre-European times.

No one could approach the Paramount except through one of the
izinduna of the royal village, and the correct person to approach was the 643
induna of the *indlunkulu*. Visitors were expected to wait at the gate of the 644
kraal and put down their spears. When they were brought by the *induna* to the Paramount, they greeted him with '*Bayete*'. Then they sat down and the Paramount told the *induna* to greet them, and they replied '*Yebo, inkosi*'. This custom of indirect approach to the Paramount has been maintained. Early travellers in Nyasaland spoke of observing it, and when I was there it was considered outrageous manners on the part of any European if he penetrated immediately to the presence of the Paramount, without going through the accustomed channels.

The Paramount was both greeted and thanked for gifts of food, beer
or snuff, with '*Bayete*'. If he moved from the kraal, all present said
'*Bayete*'. If anyone had to leave his presence, he crouched low and mur- 643
mured '*Bayete*' as he went out. Cibambo described this punctilious 644
formality of thanking for gifts in the Ngoni manner. 431

> ¶ When receiving presents the Ngoni thanked the giver by taking them with two hands, even though it was a small present. Afterwards they thanked the giver by his *isibongo*, clan name, openly. They said that receiving a thing with one hand showed that you derided it and did not put any value on it. When receiving a present from bigger people or from a chief, some words of respect were added to the *isibongo*, such as '*Baba*', '*Nkosi yami*', '*E-Jere*'. Often the receiver if he was much pleased with the present added some *izitokozo* to the clan name, if he knew them. Those near him or some further away helped the receiver by thanking loudly after him. If what he received was food, he thanked at the beginning, and after eating the food he thanked again. If such a present of food was given to a body of people, the leader in the company first led the others in

643 thanking, and then all thundered the thanking together. This included all
644 the rest who were in the neighbourhood though they did not take part in
the food or the present. The leader would first thank '*E-Jere*' and then all
431 would follow together, '*E-Jere*', or the clan name of the one who was the
giver. The Paramount, if he gave presents to the people, was not thanked
by his clan name as other people. He was thanked by '*Bayete*' as was done
when saluting him. Likewise those who received the title *Nkomo* were
thanked by that title when they gave presents to people.

643 On ceremonial occasions, visitors to the royal village heard the
izibongo or praise-songs of the Paramount. These were songs referring
644 to great deeds and notable incidents both in the lifetime of the reigning
533 Paramount and in the lives of his predecessors. They were distinct from
576 the *izitokozo*, which were honorific epithets added to the clan name and
spoken when thanking a well-known man or woman for their gifts. The
izitokozo could be said by anyone, since each person of note had his own
which were well known. The *izibongo* could only be spoken or sung by
an *umbongi* or official 'praiser'. Such a person was a man of good
[826] memory and possessing eloquence. The chest was thought to be the seat
of wisdom and eloquence, and a man who composed praise-songs, as
distinct from repeating well-known ones, had to have the faculty of
finding the right words, since new songs of this kind were generally
invented on a sudden inspiration.

The occasions when the praise-songs were recited were when important visitors came to the royal village; when beasts were slaughtered in the ancestor cult; at special dances at the royal village or at the feasts of the Paramount. On such occasions the official praiser stood up in the kraal, everyone kept silence and did not move, and after a pause he began to call out '*Bayabonga inkosi*', 'let us praise the Paramount'. In repeating the praise-songs he began with those of the immediate ancestor of the Paramount, and then went on to those of earlier ancestors. At the end he shouted '*Bayete*' and all the people replied '*Bayete*'. Examples of the praise-songs of Zwangendaba and his father Hlacwayo of the northern kingdom and of Ngwana, father of Mputa, of the central Ngoni kingdom are given at the end of the chapter.

The tension caused by the extreme formality in the behaviour of the
643 Paramount, his courtiers and his visitors was lightened by the presence
644 of a court jester. Informants were agreed that such an individual was
usually present to amuse the Paramount with his sallies and gestures and
522 clown-like tumbling about. Dr. Laws referred to such a jester at the
court of Mbelwa I when the Livingstonia Mission was making its first
settlement in northern Ngoniland.[1] I saw a jester who came with Paramount Zintambira Maseko from Portuguese territory when he and his
officials visited Mcakhatha for the war-dance at the mourning for Bambo

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[1] Livingstone, W. P. *Laws of Livingstonia*. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1921, p. 200.

Manga. It was a time of great emotional tension and strain, and the absurdities of the jester relieved the solemnity and formality of the visit. This jester was said by informants to be a man of the Moyo clan, who owed his position not to hereditary right but to a ready and witty tongue. 643 644 522

The death of the Paramount

It is in the ceremonies at the death of the Paramount that we find some major differences between the traditional practices of the northern and central Ngoni peoples, which might be attributed to the separate groups in Natal from which they came. I was living in Mcakatha village in the central kingdom at the time of the sickness and death of Bambo Manga, the most important of the royal women among the central Ngoni. The ritual ceremonies at her funeral were said to be almost identical with those at the death of the Paramount, and I was able to check details of similarity and difference with old men who remembered the death of Cikusi, the last Ngoni Paramount in the central kingdom for whom the full ritual was carried out. I was not able after that to pursue further possible parallels and differences among the northern Ngoni. My general impression from informants was that among the northern Ngoni the ritual at the death of a Paramount differed from that of any other prominent man only in certain details of the period and form of mourning. Among the central Ngoni, as Rattray said in a note on the text which will be given, 'such funerals were more of a military pageant than anything else. All outward signs of grief were rigorously excluded.' I can confirm that from my observations at the death of Bambo Manga. 184 643 766 [152]

When the Paramount became ill, a diviner was called to give advice. He might advise that a sacrifice should be made to the ancestor spirits. He might suggest witchcraft as the cause of illness. He might advise calling in a man to give medicine to the Paramount. When, in spite of sacrifices and treatment, the Paramount died, the announcement was made from the edge of his village: *Izulu lidilikile*, 'the heaven has fallen down'. Messengers were sent to all the chiefs and to all the *alumuzana* and other leading men. From the edge of each central village the cry was made, and each chief and *mulumuzana* sent his messengers to make the same announcement in each of the villages under him. [791]

Among the northern Ngoni the actual ceremony of burial does not appear to have been very different from that of any other important man, with one exception, that the Paramount, like other ruling Jere chiefs, was buried at the edge of the cattle kraal in a circular pit of the kind used when digging clay for mudding houses, on one side of which there was a niche where the corpse was placed in a sitting position, facing south-east. This burying in a circular grave on the edge of the kraal was the procedure which I witnessed at the burial of Bambo Manga among the central Ngoni (see below p. 75).

643 766 184 Dr. Steele, one of the early medical missionaries in northern Ngoniland, was present at the burial of Mbelwa I and left an account of it which is quoted by Dr. Elmslie.[1] He spoke of the great crowds of men coming to mourn armed with spears and shields, and some with guns. They came in companies, as if they were the military bands coming for mobilization from the head villages. They marched first with their shields held high over their heads, and then laid them down and clasped their hands behind their heads, advancing towards and retreating from the grave and keeping up a continuous mourning cry of '*Baba be*'. Three days elapsed between the death and the burial. During that time two graves were dug, in order that all the Paramount's possessions might be buried with him or beside him. When the graves were ready, the kraal was cleared of all but the married men who had the head-ring. Meantime the wives of the Paramount, carrying his shields, were advancing towards the grave and retreating, a few steps at a time. They finally went back to their houses, dressed themselves in skins, and returned in single file on their hands and knees. They withdrew as the corpse was brought out and placed in the grave, and other women came with the Paramount's possessions, such as pipes, wooden head-rests and shields, and all were put into the graves. The men stood in circles round the graves with their shields over their heads.

Among the central Ngoni Rattray recorded an account of the funeral rites of Cikusi in 1891, which I was able to check with more than one old man who had been present. There was also the funeral of Bambo Manga which I witnessed in 1937, where the ritual followed was identical with that described by the old men for the Paramount Cikusi, with one exception: that her possessions but not her body were cremated by a stream.

The chief differences between the northern and central Ngoni in the funeral rites at the death of the Paramount were that the central Ngoni Paramounts of the Maseko clan were cremated and not buried, and there was no public mourning, but instead a series of war-dances. There [644] [786] were two other distinctive features among the central Ngoni: formerly the individual known as the 'royal shadow' died with the Paramount; and from the time of the actual death to the time of the cremation there was a period of licence and lawlessness called *ciponde*. This latter phenomenon may have existed among the northern Ngoni, but I did not ask about it specifically when I was there, and I did not hear it referred to. I was made aware of it forcibly at the death of Bambo Manga when my cook and houseboy immediately dumped all their possessions in my hut as the only safe place during the time of *ciponde*. Rattray's account of the death of Cikusi also mentioned this practice.

In the traditions of the central Ngoni it was recorded that only the Maseko Paramounts in the direct line were cremated, and not the

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[1] Elmslie, W. A. op. cit. p. 270.

brothers of the dead Paramount who acted as regents. Thus Ngwana 184
was cremated in Ulozi before crossing the Zambesi, and Mputa was 643
cremated in the river Lichiningo in Songea in Tanganyika. This was 766
confirmed by an informant of the Gama clan who were for a time under
the central Ngoni Paramount in Songea and later were allied with the
northern Ngoni. He said 'We killed Mputa, the *inkosi*, when fighting,
and his people burned him because it was their custom in burying to
burn.'

An old woman who came from Portuguese territory to see me in the
central kingdom said that when Zintambira I died the Portuguese made [648]
them bury him 'in a box'. The onlookers in Mcakatha at the time of my
interview with the old woman said 'Yes, they were not allowed to burn
him.'

The central Ngoni leaders referred often to the ritual significance of
the cremation of their Paramount, followed by the washing of the ashes
into the stream 'to strengthen the land'. On my first arrival in the
central kingdom I was questioned closely by several of the big *izinduna*
and *alumuzana* about the practice of cremation in England. They [797]
alleged that, under the influence of the local mission, the Paramount
Gomani II had said that he wished to be buried in a coffin with Christian
burial rites. They were much concerned about this, because of the effect
on the strength and status of his successor and on the country as a whole.
'If he is not burned his children will not be honoured and will only be [648]
as *alumuzana*. Is it right that another tribe, the English, should come
and change our customs?' Great relief was expressed when I told them
that Christians were cremated in England with full Christian ritual, and
also when I told them that the ashes of one of the early Scottish missionaries
in northern Ngoniland had been brought back by his widow to
lie there.

The following account of the funeral of Cikusi was given to Rattray: 643

When the chief of the whole country dies, they do not immediately 766
inform the people of his own village. First they send messengers to other
villages, to tell them 'the clouds have fallen today'. They do this because [203]
they fear, 'if we tell his own men first, they may go and commence to
forage and plunder, as is done at a chief's death'. Then all begin to
assemble, all the war bands from the different villages, shields in hand. [301]
They are decked out in their feather head-dresses, and wristlets and
anklets of goat's hair; (the bands) glitter as if it were all for show and not
for a funeral. Then some of the old men dress the dead chief for burial.
The knees are bent against the chest, and the arms bent, the hands are
laid against the cheeks, and they take a small gourd-cup and make him
grasp it in his hand. When they bathe him, they take grass from a forest
glade. They do not wash the body, but only the face. The water they use
they do not draw from the well where people drink, but take water from
a running stream. The body is not anointed with oil. Then they take the
spleen of an ox and deck his head until it all glitters, and then take the

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skin of an ox, killed that very day, and bind him in it. But do not wrap it round his head, but only as far as the neck, and take the fat from the ox's belly and throw it over him. Then he is set on a stone and the cup filled with beer.

The body remains in the hut four days, and bands of warriors sound their shields without ceasing. When the body begins to stink, oil is brought and poured in a dish and set fire to. On the fifth day they lift the body, the child whom the dead chief had named as his successor leads, and all the relations follow, and the wives of the dead chief. The warriors [387] come in companies, village by village. Very old men bear the corpse. It is carried upright. When they come with it to the water, if it be running fully they do not dam it up, should it be low they dam it across with stones and mud, and down stream becomes quite dry. Then they begin to lay firewood on some rock in the stream, and bring the corpse and put it on the pile and take more wood and prop it up on the sides. When they have finished piling up the wood an old white-haired man makes fire, and when the hot ashes fall blows it into flame and sets fire to the pyre and the flames go roaring up. They place the child [and heir] where the smoke is blowing to. He stands on one leg, his shield is in his hand. When the fire bursts out in sparks the men clash their shields, and chant their war songs . . .

The shield of the chief, which he was wont to carry . . ., they burn on a fire on one side, and all his household belongings. When the fire has burned out, and the corpse is also consumed and turned to ashes, water is splashed over (the spot). Should the stream have been dammed they pull down the barrier, and all the ashes go down the *Masui* (a river). When they see all is finished a sheep is killed, they take a wooden spoon and catch the blood and place it on the rock. Then they skin the sheep, cut it open, take the stomach, turn out the contents on the rock, and smear it over. The elders only eat the meat. When they have done this they go off to the village and kill many oxen, the people still keeping up the rolling sound with their shields. All the ornamental tufts of grass from the hut roofs belonging to the chief are removed. Next morning all the headmen [302] shave their heads, and then the people from the different villages. The widows put on the red head-bands.

Additional details and slight variations were supplied by Habeya Dube, an old man who was official praiser of Paramount Gomani II. He was also at the funeral.

¶ After some time Cikusi began to be ill and of that same illness he died. And we danced *ligubo* for one month, and over a hundred beasts were killed. For a whole week[1] he was in the house, and then soon he began to smell because he was decaying. The grave-diggers, they of the Ngozo clan, burned the fat of the cattle and roasted it on the fire, doing it as if to prevent the smell. And they made him hold a cup of beer in his hand. On a certain day we lifted him up and went with him to the water. Then

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[1] Compare the previous account which gave four days between death and cremation. At Bambo Mangu's death it was three days.

we dammed the stream and made a pool and a mound. And we put him 643
on a rock, and on top of him we put cowhide shields and left them so. 766
And we put firewood above. Then Ngwazi Ngozo took fire and lit that fire. Then *ligubo* was danced and the women were singing. They sang songs of *ligubo* and the *amadoda* danced (*anagiya*). The owner of the country did not cry, no, and the big people did not cry. Only the wives and other women cried.

Habuya Dube added later that everyone came with one piece of wood and put it on the pyre; and that they killed a cow and took the fat and put it on the wood, and used the skin to wrap the body in.

In discussing the ceremony of cremation with informants among the central Ngoni, there was no reference to the suggestion made by Dr. Kuper, that cremating was a substitute for embalming to avoid the corruption of the body of the king. They regarded the act of burning as an essential element in the continuing strength of the royal line, since the heir stood in the smoke from the pyre, and in the continuing fertility and strength of the country, since the ashes were swept into the river. The concept was that the royal ruler had been strengthened with the *tonga* medicine, and thereafter his body and its strength was the symbol of the unity and strength and fertility of his country.

On the question of mourning or no mourning they were equally 643
emphatic. 'Death cannot cut life' was an expression often on their lips
during the funeral ceremonies of Bambo Manga, when great care was 765
taken to carry out the traditional ritual as far as possible in every detail. 565
They were shocked at the idea of mourning and wailing at such a time 766
by any of the big people. The leading Ngoni women were expected to
join the *ligubo* dances in the courtyard. Some old women of lower social
rank in the village, together with the daughter of Bambo Manga, sat in [152]
the house with the corpse sobbing and crying '*Mayi, mayi*' and many
of them became quite ill and others hysterical with prolonged sobbing. The leading Ngoni men were contemptuous of this display of grief. They admitted it was correct behaviour for her daughter because of the close kinship tie, but of the behaviour of the rest they said 'Ha, just like the Ntumba people.' The only behaviour which was considered correct was to dance in the courtyard openly before the house of Bambo Manga, or to slip off quietly home and rest before returning to take up the dance.

The traditional ritual procedure at the death of the Paramount, with 643
the exception of the cremation of the corpse, I saw in all its details at the 766
death of Bambo Manga. The corpse was placed in the same position in the hut as described at Cikusi's death, and was wrapped in a sheep-skin first with a cow-skin over, the spleen, gall-bladder and fat decorating the head and neck. The dancing of *ligubo* by the men with shields and spears, and by the women, was continuous from the moment of death to the burial, and afterwards whenever fresh companies from the central

643 766 kingdom and from Portuguese territory arrived to mourn. The grave was made at the edge of the kraal and the kraal fence enlarged to take it in so that the cattle might walk on it.

643 174 In this chapter I have tried to bring together some of the chief elements in the position of the Paramount, and in the performance of his duties, which were remembered by the old men as having been characteristic of pre-European days. Some of these features, as I have indicated, had disappeared in the 1930's. Others survived and will be illustrated in Chapter V. Chapters III and IV on the royal women and on the officials in the kingdoms will illustrate the importance of the leading women in the Ngoni kingdoms, and the hierarchy of officials already mentioned in Chapter II of Part I.

643 533 The texts of the praise-songs which conclude this chapter are given because in the 1930's they were still recited in the royal villages and were a feature of all public ceremonies. Most of the allusions in the texts were obscure. Cibambo, who translated them for me and who consulted other older men, did not recognize some of the names or the meaning of the attributes. Some names corresponded with those given in Part I in the texts about the departure of the Ngoni in their two groups from Natal (see pp. 7, 8), such as the Nqumayo people whom Zwide ruled over, Nqaba who left with Ngwana, Nyathi who tried to prevent Ngwana from leaving. But in the way in which they were used in the 1930's these praise-songs had little meaning for those who heard them except as a form of salutation to the Paramount.

Praises of Zwangendaba, son of Hlacwayo

643 Zwangendaba whose intention it is to be black who denies it to be light.
533 Go away, let us go, you the rejected one.
539 We are like a man of the Ntungwa, a fat one; there the people die as fat ones.
Nqaba you must eat people. Leave the cattle.
Nqaba son of Lushwana, there was confusion.
There he is, there he is, where do they see him? They see him in the fences of his mothers.
One who is angry because the cattle have gone with the calves.
His great cunning overcomes the magic stones of the doctors.
I have gone away until I have seen Lebombo Mountains.
We are suffering on account of the great dispute with the Nqumayo people.
You are seeing the hoes which are waiting for you, the hoes which cannot be used for hoeing.
He saw it, the short grass, he was biting it hastily.
He saw it, the ditch, his foot slipped into it.
He who divided the water with a stick at the Zambesi.
He who remembered the cattle of the Balunjana.

Praises of Hlacwayo, son of Magangata 643

Hlacwayo the dwarf who cannot trail his cloth 533
Whereas the tall people trail their cloths. 539
Meat eaten with knives of axes,
If it is not eaten with forks it is rotten.
Hlacwayo whose bodily vigour is finished off compared with Hlacwayo of former times.
Grass of deep red colour is not burned with burning; it burns very slowly, drop by drop.

Praises of Ngwana, son of Goqweni

You who cut the trees and who cut the mouths,
You the locust, the grasshopper who fixed in your hair the feathers of the locust,
Who went below and climbed up, and went to bring the morning star of the dawn,
You go, since you are rejected; you go and bring the armlets of wild animals; those of cattle will be much disputed.
You who remember the fault of long ago.
In descending, you descend together into the mountains.
You who drank the blood of cattle,
You who separated from the people of Shaka, Shaka of Mbelebele kraal,
You who separated from the people of Nyathi the son of Mashobane; it thundered, it was cloudy.
Thou resemblest cattle which were finished by wolves.
You who originated with the people of Mzilikazi,
You who originated with the people of Mpakana son of Lidonga,
You who originated with the people of Ndwandwe.

CHAPTER III

THE ROYAL WOMEN

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AN early traveller in central Ngoniland in 1886 remarked on the number of 'true Ngoni women' to be found there, who were 'easily distinguished from the other women by their light colour and by being taller and stouter'. He went on to say: 'The king's houses at Livisini were 30 feet in diameter, built within an enclosure with other huts where the attendants lived. All were kept very clean and well swept.' This tribute to the appearance and achievements of Ngoni women of high rank was borne out by my own observations in the 1930's in central and northern Ngoniland. There was a definite physical type, light in colour, with high cheek-bones and orthognathic profile, tall with an upright carriage of the head. Women with these physical characteristics were in all cases of leading Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans, and their influence on their

[p. 88]

CHAPTER IV

COURTS AND OFFICIALS

121 177 671 THE Ngoni claimed that when they established their kingdoms in Nyasaland they introduced a new idea of law, a different system of courts, and a different procedure for conducting cases in those courts, from those found among the local peoples. Within their kingdoms they imposed on all their subjects these ideas, courts and legal procedure as part of their government, applied to the conquerors and the conquered alike. We shall consider in this chapter only those aspects of the courts and the legal system which were related to the political structure. The categories of crime, the degree of punishment, the sanctions for enforcement of the law, and the effect of the judicial procedure on the balance of equilibrium in the community, all belong to a specialized study and are not included here.

THE NGONI CONCEPT OF LAW

692 643 671 We begin with two texts, the first from the northern kingdom by Cibambo, the second by Ishmael Mwale the Treasurer of the Paramount in the central kingdom.

¶ (1) The Ngoni seem to have been born with a gift for leadership or rule. Though they were a wandering tribe, yet there was one Paramount from whom proceeded the laws for the good government of the people. All the lesser chiefs and headmen received from him the leadership of the people. [203] Though they had no way of writing to each other, they kept their unity by messengers passing between them. The Paramount had power to call gatherings from time to time, in which they talked of the affairs of the country. In these gatherings the old men and the men of repute who had a point to make were heard in criticism and made suggestions for the building up of the realm. By this means the Paramount and his counsellors learned of and understood the thoughts of their people. It was in such large gatherings that the laws of the country were delivered to the people, so that they might hold fast to them and not be punished unreasonably for breaking them in ignorance. After they came back from these gatherings, the headmen and men of standing gathered together their villages to tell the people what had been spoken in the great council of the Paramount, and told them carefully about the laws which had come from the gathering.

173 671 (2) Before the Ngoni came to this country the villages were small and isolated from one another. There was constant pouncing on people to catch them as slaves. It was unsafe to go even a quarter of a mile from one village to another, because a man might be in hiding and pounce out and catch you and take you off to his village as a slave, and there was no redress and no case was heard. Most people never went beyond the

boundaries of their own village, and they were afraid to travel even in a 173
large party of twenty or thirty. So no one had any wisdom beyond that 671
of his own village and family. When the Ngoni came they had one law for all people and they had courts to hear cases where this law was enforced. There was freedom to travel in the land where the Ngoni ruled, because they had peace within their boundaries. Therefore, we say: this was the kind of peace we had.

In these two texts we have one major concept of Ngoni law with three 671
chief ways in which it was implemented. The concept was that there was
'one law for all people' and that the knowledge of and enforcement of 643
this law brought internal peace and resulted in good government in the 692
country. There was one source of law as there was one source of political 203
and military authority—the Paramount. As Cibambo points out, the Paramount delegated his authority for carrying out the law to chiefs and headmen and depended on his 'old men and men of repute' to keep him in touch with the thoughts and desires of all his subjects, so that he might adjust the enforcement of the law to bind the people to him. He also called large gatherings of all the chiefs and *alumuzana* and headmen in order that they might hear from him any new laws and regulations and understand them so that they in turn could make them known to their people. In the intervals between the holding of these large gatherings, which took place not more than once or twice a year, messengers passed constantly from the Paramount's village to all the areas of the chiefs and *alumuzana*, reporting to them about decisions taken at the royal village on matters affecting the country as a whole, and taking back reports to the Paramount on what was happening in the outlying districts.

I attended two of these annual meetings of the chiefs and *alumuzana* 631
and headmen in the central kingdom. They took place not at the Paramount's village but at a more central spot for the whole territory. The 643
people were drawn up in a square formation, with the Paramount at one 692
end supported by his 'mouthpiece' (*mlomo wenkosi*), who always spoke 645
for him, with the six Subordinate Native Authority chiefs beside him, and the councillors (*izinduna*) messengers and other officials of his court and of the S.N.A. courts arranged in order of precedence, facing the crowd as they did during court sessions. On the three sides of the square in the front ranks were the *alumuzana* and the headmen of their villages, sitting in territorial groups, and behind each headman were the *madoda* or senior men of the village, and behind them again the *amajaha* or young men. I watched this assembly of 3,000 to 4,000 people being arranged, as they arrived, by the *izinduna* of the Paramount's court and the *izinduna* of the six chiefs. They took up their places as though on a military parade, and once placed there was no further movement. The effect was that of a barrack square in the straightness of lines and orderliness of behaviour. After all was in order the Paramount

631 arrived, and there were deep-throated shouts of '*Bayete*' until he sat in
643 his chair. The proceedings were under complete control from beginning
to end. After a brief introductory speech, delivered for the Paramount
692 by his 'mouthpiece', the matters for the assembly were introduced one
645 by one by the councillors of the Paramount and were spoken to first
'from the platform', that is from the group round the Paramount. Then it was open for any of the *alumuzana* or headmen to speak 'from the floor'. They did so vigorously but respectfully, and there appeared to be no hesitation in putting forward views which were divergent from those expressed 'from the platform', and questions were asked with freedom.

The topics covered a wide range of subjects and dealt partly with matters sent on by the Administration and partly with the enforcement of regulations emanating from the Paramount for his area. A letter from
[744] the health authorities about the incidence of bubonic plague in Southern
Rhodesia was accompanied by an order to kill all rats and rabbits. Several headmen stood up and said they had heard by letter from men in the south about this. The Agricultural Department sent a notice exhorting men to take up gardens, and to go and settle and build villages below the escarpment where cotton and tobacco could be grown for sale. Those who went there as a group under a leader, so the notice said, would have that leader recognized as a headman. This drew a number of comments from the audience, some warmly supporting the scheme, others opposing it. The supporters welcomed the chance of earning money from cash crops and of having new headmen recognized in the new villages. The opposers repudiated the idea of setting up new villages. 'Why should we divide ourselves? We have our chiefs and our headmen. Let us stay together' was their theme, adding as a significant afterthought: 'If we go to those hot lands, our cattle will die'. The Paramount had introduced a marriage certificate for which a shilling had to
[651 be paid at the chief's court when the marriage was registered. Very few
585] shillings were coming in and the Paramount wanted to know why. A
number of men leaped to their feet and wanted to speak, and the *izinduna* had to keep order by pointing to individuals: 'You, what are your words?' The gist of that discussion was that Christians had to pay a shilling to the mission for being married in church, and they wanted to know if they must pay another shilling to the Paramount. His verdict was that Christians would have to pay twice because it was his law that marriages must be registered in the courts. There was much talk among the audience during and after this discussion and the *izinduna* had to call for order several times.

Two well-received items on the agenda were that permission had been given by the Government for villagers living on the Portuguese
[648] boundary to go and hoe gardens over the frontier. This use of lands
over the frontier, both as grazing-grounds and as gardens, had been

going on for years. The land was apparently unused by anyone on the 631
Portuguese side of the boundary road, and the need for extra land for
villagers living on the British side was urgent. The Portuguese authorities 643
had been charging rent for the gardens, a shilling or so per small 645
plot, which the Nyasaland men had paid after being threatened with
confiscation of their crops. This prolonged struggle had tried everyone's 692
temper and endurance, and when it was announced that it had been [648]
arranged that gardens might be hoed without payment, there was a
great roar of applause. The *izinduna* gave them time to talk among
themselves after this announcement, to work off pent-up feelings. The
other popular item was that the Paramount would have his own agricultural [543]
show at Ncheu in the coming year. He had asked Government
permission to hold it, which had been granted, and he had money in his
treasury to pay the expenses. European officers would come and judge
the exhibits and the best would be sent on to the all-Nyasaland show at
Blantyre. This announcement was greeted with cheers, a number of
questions were asked and much talk went on in the ranks.

This account of the Paramount's annual gathering illustrates several of the points made in the two texts quoted. It was the only formal occasion when the Paramount met as one body all those who bore authority in his territory under him. The kind of laws and regulations which were promulgated at these meetings were previously discussed by him with his officials and the chiefs, and their presence at his side, facing the assembly, made it clear to the people that the laws came from the Paramount and had the support of his subordinate chiefs. The freedom of discussion in the council gave anyone who had something to say the opportunity to stand up and say it. There was no sense of the business being put over quickly. The *izinduna* gave speakers time to express themselves, and allowed time to elapse for other speakers to get up. They were more lenient with the speakers at this meeting than they were with witnesses in the courts, and only once or twice in the sessions, which lasted six or seven hours, was a man addressed from the platform and told: 'Speak well that we may hear your words.'

This method of putting new laws and regulations before the people 563
illustrated the concept of one law for all, and of one source of law- 643
making within the territory, namely the Paramount, whom they saw 645
before them as the centre of the group of chiefs and leaders. The procedure
therefore gave strong support to the political structure, for it 671
was only on the occasions of this assembly of all the Paramount's officebearers 692
that all those in authority could be seen together as an authority-wielding
group, their relative importance being indicated by the order
in which they sat. The procedure also gave support to the policy of
political assimilation, for in that assembly of several thousand people,
the great majority were not of trans-Zambesi clans, and therefore not
acknowledged as Ngoni so far as tribal origin was concerned. They

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645 were, however, and they realized it at such assemblies, the people of the 671 Paramount, and he was to them the visible symbol of their unity in one 692 kingdom.

The Court System of the Ngoni

692 The enforcement of the laws as announced and discussed at these assemblies was the business of the courts, where the laws themselves were interpreted and often elaborated on occasions of an open breach.

The relationships of the courts in the kingdom followed the hierarchical pattern of the political organization. All minor cases were heard and, whenever possible, settled at the village level. If the plaintiff failed to get satisfaction, or if the village headman was unable to get his judgement accepted, he had to go with the litigants to the chief's court, and [698] if he failed there, the case could be taken to the appeal court of the Paramount. There were certain cases, such as murder and witchcraft, which in pre-European days could only be dealt with in the Paramount's court.

Some confusion arose over the use of one term 'court' for every type of institution which exercised judicial functions. The Nyanja term used in central Ngoniland for the courts at the lowest level was *bwalo*, literally the open space in front of the *indlunkulu* in any Ngoni village. Nothing could be apparently more informal than the discussion among a group of senior men called together by the headman, on a verandah or under a big tree, in order to settle quarrels and hear complaints. No formal records were kept, there was no clerk, and there was no summing up or pronouncement of judgement. There was, if the meeting was successful, general agreement about the action necessary and about who ought to initiate action. Above the level of this village headman's court were the courts of the *alumuzana* held at their head villages, and above them again the chiefs' courts. After 1933 the courts of the *alumuzana* gave place to the courts at the head villages of the chiefs. The proceedings there were more formal and included presenting evidence, defending the case and pronouncing judgement on cases rather than, as in the villages, talking things over and appealing to certain principles to re-establish equilibrium and resolve disputes.

The Ngoni nevertheless always recognized these courts at the village [622] level as an integral part of their system. It was the mark of a good headman that he should be able to settle the minor cases in his village without [563] constant reference to higher authority. The majority of villages under Ngoni rule were villages of local tribes who had surrendered to, or been conquered by, the Ngoni. The headmen were therefore of the local tribe, as a rule surrounded by their kinsmen, and their position carried with it the necessity of relating local tribal custom, especially in matters involving marriage and family affairs, to the legal principles and procedure of the Ngoni courts. Many cases came before the courts in and appeals were uncommon. Chiefs did not allow a man to come by himself with his case to them, he had to come with his headman. Even those in danger of death went first to the headmen and these brought them to the chiefs. 692

The Ngoni hated bribes. If any *induna* was found to have taken bribes from people he was condemned and punished. [687]

The hearing of the cases was like what it is today. The one who brought the case to the court spoke first, then the one with whom he was quarrelling. If there were elders there from their village they also spoke telling out how these people quarrelled, saying so-and-so began to quarrel in such-and-such a way, and then showed how they had been unable to judge it in the village. They did not go into details of the quarrel, that was done by the men themselves. After those who had quarrelled had told of the beginning of the case any who knew of it were asked to say how it appeared to them in the village. These were the witnesses both for and against. 695

When this had been done, all who were implicated or interested in the case remained silent. It is the custom of the Ngoni that all who spoke in a case should stand and have a stick, and as they spoke they should walk about and limp with the stick or sometimes stand all together, but in that case the hand which held the stick should shake and stick it into the ground. Only women spoke seated. No one at the hearing of a case was allowed to lie down, everyone, even the Paramount, sat. They did this because they were afraid that otherwise the case would not finish quickly. The court was held in the cattle kraal. Women were not allowed into the kraal for cases, but sat outside opposite where the old men were gathered, even though they were the wives of the Paramount. 695 516

After the litigants and the witnesses had spoken it was the turn of the elders of the court. They questioned and agreed with or criticized the men who had quarrelled but they did not pronounce judgement. They waited for the Paramount who first of all sat silent and noticed those who unravelled or twisted the case. Afterwards when the people had finished speaking, the elders delivered the story to the Paramount or judge. The judge then delivered his judgement and condemned those who had twisted the case. He delivered his judgement sitting not standing like the other people and when he had finished all thanked him, or rather saluted him with a loud '*Bayete*' or with the surname if to lesser chiefs. Sometimes he sent an elder to tell the court the judgement. When the case had been judged no one criticized the judgement. The one who began to give thanks for the judgement was the one who was found guilty: this he did to show submission and repentance. The custom of today that the one who wins the case gives the thanks is not good because the man who has lost goes away in resentment and threatening and often the case crops up again. 695 [576]

If an *induna* or man of standing went secretly to the Paramount to accuse somebody that he deserved death (perhaps for witchcraft), very often the Paramount sent a man in secret to warn the condemned man to run to a chief's village and hide his head. In this way many left their fathers and went to build with the chiefs and when they went they took 643 682 692

all their things

643 all their things. Even when the Paramount agreed that a man should be
682 killed he ordered that all his possessions were to come to him, stock,
slaves, wives and children. These were called *izizi zenkosi*, the things of
the Paramount, and they were divided among the houses of the Paramount, and the master of the man killed got nothing. This was done to
teach the fathers of the villages that they should not sentence their people
to death because they coveted their goods or people. The Paramount
taught them by taking all the belongings of the one killed and they got
nothing. Of course the Paramount's and chiefs' villages grew quickly in
684 this way. At the beginning the punishment for adultery and murder was
death; in adultery both the man and the woman were killed. Beginning
178 from the time of Mbelwa and Mtwalo the penalty for adultery has been
changed. The man who did it was despoiled of his goods or paid compensation. The courts agreed that any man wronged by such adultery
could go with a war-party to the village of the guilty man and take what
he wanted, but not kill any person. The Paramount took no notice of such
an affair.

671 No account of the conduct of cases in Ngoni courts would be complete without reference to the popular interest in and support for the
law. After a day in the courts the *izinduna* and the *amadoda* talked of
almost nothing else. They went over and over the details of the cases,
and recalled former cases of a similar kind and compared the judgements given. They criticized each other sharply for the handling of
cases, and such criticism was taken well on the whole, as a contribution
to the process of interpreting and enforcing the law rather than as a
personal affront. The attendance of the public at the court sessions was
encouraged so long as they observed due decorum. When talking broke
out among the onlookers, the *induna* in charge bellowed 'Silence' in a
voice of thunder. If a group of women continued to chatter and giggle
after the *induna* had called for silence, he told them to go home. The
[857] interest in courts and cases extended to the play of children and to the
conduct by the boys of their own affairs in the *laweni* or boys' dormitory.
I often saw the young son of a chief or *induna* organizing his playmates
into a court and allocating roles to them and in his play imitating the
voice and gestures of his father.

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NGONI OFFICE-BEARERS

622 In Chapter II of Part I we stated that the main element in the Ngoni
645 political system in the 1930's was a ruling aristocracy supported by a
[565] hierarchy of officials. In this chapter we shall first look at two texts, one
by Cibambo on the northern kingdom and the other by a big *induna* in
the central kingdom, explaining the relationship of the different office-bearers to the Paramount. We shall see how there were in effect two
groups of office-bearers, one related to the territorial divisions of the
kingdoms, and the other consisting of state or national officials and those
connected with the royal village. There was no set of terms which could

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Ngoni territorial office-bearers. 622

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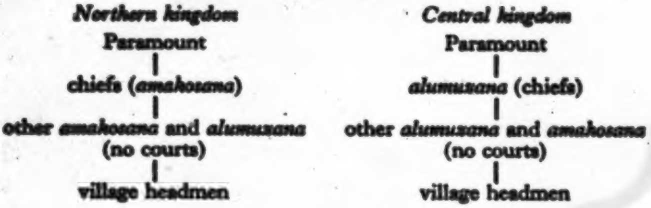
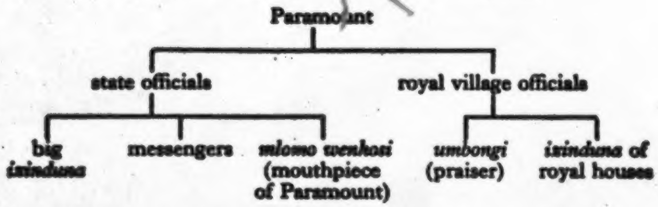

Northern kingdom
Paramount
chiefs (*amakosana*)
other *amakosana* and *alumuzana* (no courts)
village headmen
Central kingdom
Paramount
alumuzana (chiefs)
other *alumuzana* and *amakosana* (no courts)
village headmen

Ngoni national office-bearers (both kingdoms)


Paramount
state officials
royal village officials
big *izinduna*
messengers
mlomo wenkosi (mouthpiece of Paramount)
umbongi (praiser)
izinduna of royal houses

In the description of the annual gathering in the central kingdom to discuss new regulations, reference was made to those on 'the platform' at one end of the great square. There the Paramount sat with his state officials, the big *izinduna*, the messengers, and his spokesman or mouthpiece. These have been called state officials in the diagram to distinguish them from the officials of the royal village. It is a distinction which is one of convenience rather than of importance. The Paramount's spokesman lived in the royal village, and the praiser often did not. But the spokesman appeared with the Paramount on all occasions in every part of his kingdom when he went visiting, whereas the official praiser only recited the praise-songs at ceremonies in the royal village. 643 645

The big *izinduna*, as Cibambo points out in his text, were very close to the Paramount, advising him on matters of state, and speaking to the cases in his court. The *izinduna* of the big house and of other houses in the royal village were not concerned with matters of state, but with day-to-day affairs in the village. Illustrations of their work will be given in the next chapter. The work of the messengers, described by Cibambo, was that of keeping close touch between the royal village and the chiefs. He describes also how each territorial office-bearer had his messengers to send out to the heads of the next group below his. By this use of messengers for intercommunication between officials, the *alumuzana* and *amakosana* who had no courts received messengers from the chief above them and sent out their own messengers to the villages which they owned. [203]

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The only group mentioned by Cibambo which is not included in the 692

and the circular court-house in a commanding position on a small hill 361
with a big open space all round it.

There were several places in this village which were referred to as the *bwalo*: they included the open space within the reed fence of the Paramount's section, the much larger open and unfenced space round the court-house, and the more restricted spaces round the huts of the *induna* and of the headman. The meaning of the term *bwalo* was always slightly ambiguous in this village since it was often used for the verandah of the royal residence, as well as the open space in front of it. The central Ngoni custom of surrounding the huts of important men and women with high reed fences with a narrow opening, made it easy to say '*ali pa bwalo*', 'he is on the *bwalo*', so that it covered either the verandah of the hut or the space inside the fence. The local usage of *bwalo* by the Cewa people more often denoted the open space in the middle of the village where the men congregated to sit and talk and drink beer.[1] The connotation of *bwalo* in Ngoni villages in the central kingdom was usually in terms of the big house and the space in front of it within the fence.

In Maganga the place to which the name *bwalo* was most often applied was the space within the reed fence surrounding the Paramount's large brick residence and the outbuildings. When I lived in one of the outbuildings at the back of the house, I was said to be living *pa bwalo*; and 643
it was also alluded to as *pa cigodlo*, that is in the enclosure where the 342
Paramount's children lived behind the big house. His daughter's hut 361
was in this section, on the north side, and beyond her hut was that of the *mlomo wenkosi*, who was also the Paramount's brother-in-law, since he had married the Paramount's sister and was the brother of the Paramount's wife. In the other buildings within the reed fence lived several servants of the household, and at the kitchen end of the brick house lived the girls who assisted the Paramount's wife with cooking and looking after her younger children.

When the Paramount built his court-house, he built some offices as 344
part of it for himself, his *mlomo wenkosi*, his treasurer and the court
clerk. The intention had been that official business would be carried 643
out there, and relieve the big house of some of its many callers, and also ensure some measure of privacy for those who lived there. It proved very difficult to achieve this separation of public and private affairs, since the tradition that the Paramount was accessible to all his people at all times was persistent.

The entrance to the enclosure or *bwalo* of the big house was guarded 574
in the traditional manner. If strangers (and all visitors were called *alendo* 643
or strangers) arrived on the side road leading off the main road, they inquired from one of the huts there if the headman was present and waited till he arrived. The headman then went to tell the *induna* or the *mlomo wenkosi* that strangers had come, while they waited till the reply

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[1] Scott, D. C. *Mang'anja Dictionary*. Edinburgh, 1892.

574 came. One of these two officials usually came to greet them. He then
643 informed the Paramount that strangers were present and took back the
Paramount's greeting to them and asked their business. This was in turn
reported to the Paramount, who arranged for their business to be taken
care of and, if they were important people, sent an invitation for them
to come to the *bwalo*, to which they were escorted by one of his officials
and given seats. In due time the Paramount came out of his house and
they gave him the *Bayete* and then he greeted them. As a rule he carried
on all conversation through his *mlomo wenkosi*, and, after staying for a
short time, often went back into the house and left his officials to entertain
the guests. If the guests were visiting chiefs and *alumuzana*, word
had gone round when they first arrived, and the senior men of the
village, the *madoda*, gathered to greet them, and sat in a group as they
did for court cases. Such conversations of a social nature took place as
a rule in the courtyard where chairs and mats were placed. If it rained
or was very hot they went onto the verandah which ran the whole length
of the house. Never, so far as I could discover, did visitors come into the
house unless they were close relatives of the Paramount or his wife.

Women visitors who came with the men or by themselves went
through the same procedure of announcing themselves and stating their
business. Then, if they were important people, they were escorted to the
courtyard at the back of the big house where they were greeted by the
Paramount's wife and by her daughter, who then settled down to talk
with them, either out of doors or on the back verandah, according to the
weather. It was usual for the Paramount's wife and daughter also to go
and greet the men visitors on the front verandah or in the courtyard.
26 They did not stay, however, and if the visitors had come from far the
574 Paramount told his wife, after she had greeted them, to 'catch a fowl'.
643 When she returned to the back courtyard, children chased hens and
there was squawking and yelling until the right number had been caught
and killed. Pounding of maize began, the fowls were dressed and put in
pots on the fire and other 'relish' was prepared of vegetables and groundnuts,
and the flour was cooked to make porridge (*nsima*). The Paramount's
wife and her helpers prepared the best pot-roast of chicken I
have ever had. Food thus prepared was served to the guests on the front
verandah in the traditional style, the porridge in food baskets (*nsengwa*),
the chicken and other relish in small covered pots. The Paramount
offered the food to his guests and then withdrew into the house. When
they received the food, as well as when they had finished eating, they
[576] thanked him with the traditional *Bayete nkosi*, adding, if they were of
Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans, some of the praise names or *isitokozo* of
the Maseko Paramounts. To European visitors, and occasionally to
Christian Africans, tea was offered with milk and sugar.

574 Viewed from the back *bwalo*, where I lived and watched all this hap-
643 pening and listened to comments, it was evident that the never-ending

hospitality involved both planning and expense. The Paramount's wife 574
had to keep enough food stocks on hand not only to feed her own large 643
family and household, but also to be able to respond to expected and unexpected guests. The Paramount's personal annual salary at that time was £60, out of which he had to keep his family and household in food and clothes and school fees, and pay for the upkeep of his house. The bulk of the cereals and some of the beans and other vegetables used in his house came from his fields worked by hired labour. Another source of food supply was the market 'custom', a small toll levied on the produce sold in the weekly market, which was paid chiefly in kind and put [465] in the storehouses on the Paramount's *bwalo* to be used to feed his guests.[1]

The Paramount not only gave food and drink to the expected and unexpected visitors to the royal village. From time to time he gave a feast to which the Christians of the congregation of the mission church were invited, as on one New Year's Day when I was staying there. He gave a feast to all the neighbourhood on the occasion of his daughter's wedding. From time to time he invited all his people to dance *ligubo* or *ngoma* at the royal village and provided beer for all and food for the [527] *alumuzana* and the chiefs and their wives. The organization of these big feasts demanded planning on a generous scale and a large outlay in maize for porridge and meat for relish. No feast at the Paramount's village was complete without meat enough to satisfy everyone.

The visitors, the feasts, the dances, all had their focal point in the royal residence in the royal village. There were two other focal points in the village where large numbers of people came regularly, and made the place where the Paramount lived a centre which brought his people together and brought him before them as their ruler. These were the market and the court-house which also housed his offices.

Before 1939 the market in the royal village was unique in the area for 443
its size and the service which it rendered to the countryside. At any one 438
time on a Saturday there would be 600 to 1,000 people present. In 1938
a second market was opened by the Paramount at Nsipe at the southern [643]
end of his territory. They were definitely his markets in that he allotted space for them; fixed the days on which they were held; controlled the policing of the market and the strangers' huts where sellers arriving overnight could sleep; fixed the prices according to seasonal variations in supply; and, as we have seen, collected 'custom' in lieu of rents for sites. The market at Maganga served an area extending roughly 15 miles to the east, 15 to the west and 10 miles to the north and south. It stretched in the east to below the escarpment whence came bamboo and

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[1] An average weekly amount of custom reckoned over several weeks was 10*s.* in cash, and a quantity of bananas, sugar-cane, vegetables and cereals amounting to two sackfuls and sometimes three. The cash was levied on meat, 1*s.* 9*d.* per cow, 1*s.* 6*d.* per goat or pig; and on mats, baskets, etc. at roughly 1*d.* in the 1*s.*

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sugar cane, and fish from the lake. From the west came sellers of foodstuffs, mainly maize and vegetables, from the villages in Portuguese territory. Whether by accident or design the sellers took up their stands in the market-place on the side to which they first came. Thus on the east side were the fish-sellers, who had carried their fish up the two escarpments from the lake during the night. Near them were the sellers of bamboo and bark-rope, reed and raffia mats, baskets of all kinds, wooden spoons and hoe handles. The vegetable sellers mostly from Portuguese villages were on the western edge of the market. In the centre under some trees were the butchers selling meat and cutting up the cattle, pigs and goats which they had killed in the early morning. Pottery was in another section, thread for bead-work and grass hats and bangles in another. On the edge of the market site were the Indian stores where, on market days, people with cash in hand from their sales bought cloth and had it made up by the tailors sitting with their sewing machines on the verandahs of the stores.

The Paramount's early life and marriage

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The officials surrounding the Paramount in the central kingdom were aware that he had begun his rule under difficulties owing to the death of his father. Two texts on this follow, the first by the *induna* of the royal village, Kalilombe Mbewe, and the second by Ishmael Mwale the treasurer of the Paramount, neither of them members of trans-Zambesi clans, but both imbued with Ngoni sentiments and sense of values and devoted to the royal clan.[1] The first text emphasizes the action taken by the two big *izinduna* of the Paramount to hide and protect the young heir to the Paramountcy, and to look after the wives of the big house.

> ¶ Formerly we were on Domwe, and when we left there, we built the first village here and its name was Lizulu. When Gomani I was taken by the Europeans his *izinduna* Cakumbira Ndau and Mambeyu Moyo were here at Lizulu. When Gomani I was taken, his son Phillip Gomani was a young child. He stayed with Cakumbira Ndau, so did the big wives of Gomani I. Other wives of Gomani I went to their own families. Cakumbira took with him from Domwe his own cattle and those of the Paramount. When Gomani I was killed the Europeans did not ask about the child who would enter his place. Later when the people were accustomed to the Europeans, the Europeans asked: 'Who is the child who should enter his place?' And the senior men brought him out from hiding and said 'This is he.' The senior men revealed this because they knew that the war had finished and that he could not be killed.

The text by the treasurer takes up the story from the times when the existence of the heir to the Paramount was made known, and covers

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[1] The fathers of both these men had been taken by the Ngoni from near the Kirk Range, and trained as warriors in Songea before returning to Nyasaland to the royal village on Domwe mountain.

643 his boyhood, schooling, marriage, conversion to Christianity and accession to the Paramountcy. The first paragraph refers to the action of a European who had made contact with the young heir because of his friendship with his father.

¶ When Mr. Walker returned to Lizulu on another journey he told the big people, 'Today I am taking the big child and I will bring him up in my home.' He took Philip Gomani and he looked after him very well, in the same way as a black man would bring up his child. He engaged a man to teach the child until he knew Cinyanja well and could read and write it. Altogether he took care of him for five years, and then he brought him back to Lizulu.

When the children were back at the village they were thinking and thinking about the European schools. When they were thus thinking, another European came who lived at Nsoni in the Mang'anja country. He came to recruit men for work. When he saw the children he asked them 'Why do you children just stay here without learning anything?' The children said 'It is school that we want, but we have no means by which we can be helped to go to school'. This European said 'Where I live there is a school of the Blantyre Mission. If you come I will take care of you and pay your school fees.' In very truth when those children went to him, he took care of them well, fed and clothed them and paid their school fees as he said.

797 643 In 1915 when he was still at school the Paramount married NaNdau. And the big people said 'The child of the Paramount who ought to enter the chieftainship ought not to marry only one wife.' Because they spoke thus he also married two other women, NaNungu and NaMilanzi, whose home was in the Portuguese country in Mpanyila in Chief Zintambira's kingdom. The Paramount did not want these three wives, and only took them because of the words of the big people. When he had stayed with them only one year, he sent away those two wives and said 'I want to join the Church', and so began in the Bible Class at Blantyre Mission to learn there.

In 1917 before he had finished school they began to build his house in the village which was called Maganga. It was his coming out of the village of Chief Cakumbira. When he left Blantyre in 1918 he went to live in his village because he had finished school. He came with a letter from the Bible Class. But the elders of the church of the Dutch mission in that country did not believe that it could be true that the child of the Paramount would join the church. Before he had been received by the mission, there came to his house at Maganga a European woman who said 'This house is very good. It ought to belong to a Christian'. The Paramount said 'I changed my heart long ago. I brought my letter from the Bible Class and gave it to the elders of the church but they said nothing to me.' Then she said 'Tomorrow you come to my place and let us talk.' The Paramount went. When they had talked she told the minister of the mission station. He said 'All right, next week you come and I will examine you.' That week the Paramount was tested and showed that he believed all the teachings.

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797 643 In 1921 he was baptized by the Rev. J. Botes in the year in which he entered the chieftainship, when Cakumbira, the one who took care of the chieftainship, had died. For entering the chieftainship there was not much to be done. The people gathered together, and the Paramount just stood up and grasped his spear and pointed to the south-east. The people danced *ligubo* and praised the Paramount.

The people began to consider and said 'Seeing that he is a young man, how will he know how to judge the cases?' Ha! But there was confusion in their minds, because his judgements excelled those of the big people who had judged formerly. From 1921 to today in all matters he has the chieftainship and Christianity. He holds both these in his hand to strengthen him.

361 643 The texts bring out several points relative to the royal village which arose from the circumstances surrounding the early life of the Paramount. Reference has already been made to the large royal village on Domwe which broke up when Cikusi entered the Paramountcy and built his *lusungulu* village at Liwisini near the Kirk Range. The section of the royal village called Lizulu moved out almost due east from Domwe under its big *induna*, Cakumbira Ndau. When Gomani I was killed after a brief reign of five years, the Ndau clan brought to their village the big wives of Gomani I, including NaMagagula his first wife, in whose house the child Philip Gomani was brought up. With the big *induna* of Lizulu of the Ndau clan was Mambeyu Moyo, one of the big war *izinduna* of Cikusi. Lizulu, with NaMagagula living there, was regarded as the *gogo* village of the Paramount, and from there his own *lusungulu* village went out to build at Maganga where there was already a village under a headman of the local tribe. One of the reasons given for building on a village site already occupied was that the Portuguese frontier restricted all movements to the west, and round the village of Lizulu to the east and south a number of outlying villages were already in existence. Proximity to the main north to south Nyasaland road was also considered a good reason for building the Paramount's village on the site at Maganga. Lizulu village had two important aspects. It was the *gogo* village of the Paramount, and it was also the head village of the Ndau
643 clan, and the court of Chief George Ndau who was one of the S.N.A.

[797] The conversion of the Paramount to Christianity was a severe blow for the older officials in his kingdom. They feared that much of the ritual associated with the office of the Paramount would necessarily disappear and that the Ngoni kingdom would become weakened in consequence. Three events partly allayed these fears though the older men were never wholly reconciled. One was his marriage to NaNdau, daughter of Cakumbira Ndau who had hidden him, thus binding the royal line to the powerful Ndau clan which had protected him in his childhood. Another was the recognition in 1933 by the Nyasaland government of the Paramountcy with its Appeal Court. The third was

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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the Paramount's interest in modern aspects of administration, especially after his visit to the course for chiefs held at the Jeanes School in Zomba in 1934. The old councillors, sceptical though they were of many modern innovations, recognized that they were in line with European ideas of administration, and also that they appealed to the younger educated men in the kingdom who had travelled and seen other countries and ways of living. 643

The Paramount married NaNdau as his big wife, and though, as the text mentions, he married two other wives when urged by the senior men, he sent them away after a year or two and NaNdau remained his only wife. She had an assured position since she bore him five sons and two daughters, the first-born being a daughter and receiving all the respect due to a Royal Sister. One of the brothers of NaNdau was chief of a division, and another was *mlomo wenkosi* to the Paramount. She succeeded in maintaining much of the traditional pattern in the royal village and the big house. Her personal supervision of the household was thorough and competent. She exercised complete authority over the girls and women belonging to the household and arranged that the Ngoni custom of examining the young girls, including her own daughter, at regular intervals should be maintained. Her knowledge of Ngoni songs and dances, and her own skilled and graceful participation in the dances on state occasions, brought her before the people in her role as the big wife. At the feasts given by the Paramount she moved about among the people to serve them, and listened to complaints from the women about affairs in their villages which she then handed on to her husband. [595] [586] 644

The back verandah and all the outbuildings were the domain of the Paramount's wife. When I was there, she had some ten or twelve girls and women as well as several men working for her. They came and went if they had homes elsewhere, and the personnel changed often. All the household work was done by them: bringing water and fuel, pounding maize, and a good deal of the cooking, though this was closely supervised by the Paramount's wife. No beer was made in the household as it was against the rules of the church to which they belonged. In other Ngoni households of subordinate chiefs and *alumuzana* who were not Christian, the brewing of beer was a time-absorbing part of the household tasks and was shared by the different wives under the supervision of the big house. In Maganga, when the Paramount was entertaining unexpected guests and wanted to offer them beer, he inquired from his *induna* if anyone was brewing beer in the village, and sent for some for which he paid. When he knew beforehand that guests were coming who would expect beer to be offered to them as part of the Paramount's hospitality, he told his *induna* to see that beer was made in one of the village households, and he paid for it. [273]

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The cooking which went on in the big house kitchens was always extensive. The Paramount, his wife and six children had two meals a

643 574 264 day, and so did all the regular helpers in the household. The stream of visitors was incessant, especially on Saturdays when the market was held, and on the days when the Appeal Court was in session at the court-house adjoining the village. Not every caller was given food, but if they came from a distance it was always offered. In the setting of a modern brick house and a Christian household with only one wife, the Paramount had to provide a great deal of hospitality. The old tradition that *alumuzana* and other important men visited the Paramount daily no longer held. But the weekly market and the court meetings, and the lorry service on the main road bringing callers from north and south, as well as administrative affairs which had constantly to be discussed and settled, made the Paramount's house and *bwalo* a very busy place.

Officials of the royal village and state officials

574 643 645 When I lived in the royal village for several weeks I was aware of a never-ending stream of persons coming to consult or to work with the Paramount. Well protected as he was by the Ngoni method of indirect approach and the surveillance of the village and *bwalo* by the *induna* of the big house and the *mlomo wenkosi*, the Paramount was still subject to constant inquiries from his office-bearers who needed his counsel, and from persons great and small from all over his kingdom who believed that he could help them. Among the village officials the *induna* of the big house worked closely with the headman of the village, and displayed unremitting efforts to see that all affairs in the immediate neighbourhood of the Paramount should go smoothly. They were constantly on the *bwalo* of the big house, or near the gate of the fence surrounding it. These two always turned up when visitors came, and sat on the verandah or in the *bwalo* with the other senior men, and kept an eye on all that happened. If anything went wrong in the village or the compound when the Paramount was away they were in great distress, as on one occasion when a man ran amok and threatened people with a knife. There was a strong tradition that around the Paramount and his living quarters everything and everyone had to be orderly and peaceable.

645 574 The *umbongi*, or praiser of the Paramount, was among the royal village officials, though he only appeared on the *bwalo* when ceremonies took place there. He sometimes came when important visitors arrived if their visit was known in advance. He always came to the big dances and feasts held at the royal village. He was an old man, tall and spare, leaning heavily on a long staff, and many of the onlookers who listened attentively to his praise-songs showed nervousness when he began making personal remarks, for he had a sharp tongue and a flow of language.

Of the state officials the *mlomo wenkosi* was seldom away from the big house or far from the person of the Paramount. He had married the Paramount's sister, and was own brother to the *inkosikazi*, and his

645 He was a student of Ngoni history and custom, and used his travels as treasurer to collect new information. He always intended to write a history of the central kingdom as Cibambo had done for the northern kingdom, but his public duties never gave him time.

● 643 In making contact with his people and keeping in touch with his
645 officials the Paramount did not rely only on their visits to the royal
village. Two or three times a year he toured his kingdom, accompanied
574 by his *mlomo wenkosi* and the treasurer, and stayed at the head villages of the chiefs and also of other *alumuzana*. The treasurer spoke enthusiastically of the Paramount's habit of making himself known to his people and enabling them to present petitions to him in person. He met village headmen on their own ground, and *alumuzana* who were unostentatiously directing the affairs of their villages and areas, as well as the official chiefs or Subordinate Native Authorities. He saw for himself how his own regulations were being carried out and how the measures for agricultural improvement and cattle-dipping which the Government was promoting were being adopted. These visits in his own territory were followed by visits to Blantyre and Zomba and to the mining centres outside the country where his people were working. He was thus able to check on the conditions in the subordinate chiefs' areas which had been created by the prolonged absence of men from the villages.

The Paramount and changes in law and custom

643 Through his school education at Blantyre, his membership of a
178 Christian church, and through attending the chiefs' course at the Jeanes School in Zomba, the Paramount stood between the old and the new in the changing conditions in his kingdom. After the 1933 Ordinance one of the changes in administration was that a Native Authority had to budget
652 for income and expenditure in his area. The income for 1935 for this
[434] area was £959, made up of a share of the taxes; fifty per cent. of the yearly rental of stores; court fines and fees and beer licences. The expenditure was £832, under items of salaries to the Paramount and subordinate chiefs; salaries for messengers, councillors, clerks and policemen; payment of fourpence per tax to the headmen of the villages so that it was to their advantage to collect the full amount; and a small sum for uniforms, office expenses and such items as cash boxes and handcuffs. This budget for the central Ngoni kingdom was drawn up in consultation with the District Officer by the Paramount and his treasurer. It was a source of great pride to the treasurer that he had, as we have seen, his own key to a safe in the District Office where he put the tax money collected in the area, and drew out sums needed for expenditure in the Paramount's office.

744 In 1933, as already mentioned, a meeting of subordinate chiefs, *alumuzana*
653 and headmen heard the Paramount's proposals for new regulations about village improvement and agreed to them. These regulations were

called 'to make a clean village', and were one of the results of the Paramount's visits to his area. They included building latrines, sweeping the open spaces round huts, disposing of rubbish, mending roofs and fences, smooth mudding of houses, digging wells. The Paramount appointed three men who were called *masanitari* to go round the villages to inspect and report to him, and instituted a system of fines for failure to carry out these measures. In addition to promoting clean villages, he ordered that cattle were to be dipped regularly, cultivation was to be carried out by a ridge system instead of mounds, and all sick people, especially women, were to attend hospital. He sent his own daughter to hospital for her confinement, and she attended the baby clinic regularly with her child. 744 653

Some of the changes in local customs which the Paramount ordered were not so easy to enforce as the newer practices in relation to health and hygiene. He forbade drinking at night when quarrelling became rife; he prohibited Cewa dances such as *vinyau* and *malombo* and the Cewa female puberty rite of *cinamwali*. The only dances allowed were the Ngoni dance *ngoma*; the *ligubo* or war-dance at his village; and the individual hero's dance (*ligiya*) when a lion or leopard was brought to his village. Marriages had to be registered, and births and deaths recorded and reported to the Paramount when he visited the villages. 178 643 ● 656 563

It was always possible to start an argument among the senior men sitting on the Paramount's *bwalo*, or on the steps of his court-house, either on the subject of how far Ngoni law and custom had replaced local Ntumba and Cewa custom, or on the advantages and disadvantages of the modern reforms of the Paramount. Some of the older men were anxious to establish that the Ngoni, meaning those of the trans-Zambesi clans, had not only achieved a political conquest but had also changed the practices of the local peoples and made them observe Ngoni customs. They used to assert, among other things, that the local people had become patrilineal, and had adopted a *lobola* form of marriage—statements which could easily be disproved and were laughed at by the onlookers. On the other hand, they were right when they said that Ngoni laws and court procedure were universally approved and followed, and that the younger generations at least were willing to carry out the welfare measures of the Paramount. One constant feature of all such discussions of recent changes was the steady support given by the Ntumba and Tengo clan leaders to the Paramount and his rule. This, more than any other feature, proved that the trans-Zambesi pattern of political rule had triumphed, and that in their loyalty to the Paramount and their practice of Ngoni custom the village headmen and their families could be counted on to support the rulers.

565 769 771 exclusively related to the aristocratic tradition, and no account will be given or analysis made of ancestor cults practised by those groups in the two Ngoni kingdoms who were not of the leading clans. In the ancestor cult, as it will be described here, the emphasis was always on known and named spirits of the dead, associated with the village where the ritual was performed. In the approach to these known and named spirits—an approach which I have called a cult—there were three essential components: the diviner, the ritual address and the cattle. The diviner's role we shall discuss in Chapter III and the ritual forms of addressing the ancestors in Chapter IV. The Ngoni believed they could not approach their ancestral spirits except through their cattle, which had first to [825] show that the spirits agreed to prayers being made, and the sign was that the beast urinated. The sacrifice of a beast was an integral part of the rite, which was concluded by the suppliants eating the meat together. At no point in their common life did the Ngoni more clearly demonstrate their dependence on their cattle than in the ritual of addressing their ancestral spirits. For this reason, in Chapter II we shall review the place of cattle in Ngoni life and relate it to their role in the ancestor cult.

Ancestral spirits of the Ngoni Paramounts.

643 769 776 The reigning Paramount and his predecessors in that office held an unchallenged supremacy in the hierarchy of the Ngoni kingdoms. The Ngoni believed that the line of dead Paramounts similarly led the hierarchy of the ancestral spirits, and that the dead Paramounts had power to help the Ngoni nation in time of need. It was taken for granted that when Paramounts died they would continue to be powerful and held in great respect, and that their position in the spirit world would enable them to influence UMkulumqango, the Great Spirit. This Great Spirit was believed to be the creator of all things and the ultimate source of power, particularly of sending rain, success in war, and deliverance from pestilence; and he was in general regarded as the giver of health and strength to mankind. The Ngoni held that those ancestors who were nearest to the living in time, whose names they knew, possessed less power than the remote ancestors whose names had been forgotten. On the same principle UMkulumqango, the Great Spirit, the originator of all creation, possessed more power than any other being, but, since he was so far removed in time from the living, no one could know his praise-names or his genealogy, and therefore he could not be addressed directly. In the same way the remotest ancestors of the Paramount could not be addressed directly because their praise-names were unknown to living men. Only those direct ancestors of the Paramount, whose names and genealogy and praise-names were known, could be addressed correctly and they could be counted on to use their influence with remoter and more powerful ancestral spirits and with the Great Spirit himself.

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As one of the Ngoni said: 'The spirits of the dead Paramounts were the guardians of the whole nation. These *amadlozi* stood between UMku- 769 lumqango and the people. They were never worshipped at times of 776 plenty and prosperity, but at the time of crisis and danger.'

769 In pre-European days there had been two special occasions when the spirits of former Paramounts were addressed on behalf on the whole nation. One was at the time of the *incwala* or first-fruits ceremony, which as we have seen was given up before the final settlement in Nyasaland. This was an occasion uniting all the people with songs and dances at the village of the Paramount. The second occasion was in time of war before [726] the army went out on a raid. This could take place more than once during the fighting season, and always at the Paramount's village.

The remaining occasions for addressing the spirits of former Paramounts on behalf of the nation were when epidemics threatened, when there was a drought, or in the serious illness of the Paramount or of a leading member of his family. In prayer for rain or for the recovery from illness of someone of the royal clan, the diviner had to be consulted about which of the ancestors of the Paramount should be addressed. The ancestor indicated by the diviner had to be named in the ritual, his genealogy given and, as a rule, his particular attributes and his praise-names mentioned. The following account was given to me by Mlonyeni 769 Jere, who prayed for rain in Elangeni in 1935: 782

> ℭ When the rain stopped, the *amadoda* spoke among themselves 'What shall be done?' If they could not find out who had made the rain to stop, they said 'We must ask the *isanusi* (diviner). Perhaps it is one of the *amadlozi* (spirits) who are stopping the rain.'
>
> If the *isanusi* finds it is the spirit of Hlacwayo, then all the big people are called to come to the kraal at Elangeni. Then they say 'We should choose a black ox with no white spot and bring it to the kraal.' They appointed a speaker who knows how to speak well all the names of the chiefs who have died. This man says to the spirit 'This cow is yours. You must eat it all. Then you must tell UMkulumqango our troubles.' If it urinates or makes dung, the spirits agree. This praying to the spirits is in the kraal in the evening. At early dawn next day someone is sent to kill the ox. While it was being flayed, the huts of the chief wives were smeared [237] with cow dung on the floors and on the place outside the door. The meat was cooked in the kraal by the *amadoda*. Some of it was taken into the *indlunkulu* and kept there for one night so that the spirit might lick it.
>
> The Paramount had already eaten in the kraal and the meat was divided for the *amadoda* according to their age regiments. After they have eaten, a big man rises up to thank the spirit with his titles and praise-names, and all the people answer *Bayete* and there is a war-dance in the kraal. Then they look up and see clouds coming. Then the rain comes.

This particularizing of the appeal to an individual dead Paramount in 643 the ancestor cult was an essential element in the ritual, and there seemed 769

● 643

769 to be no occasion and no form of ritual in which a generalized appeal was made to the spirits of all former Paramounts.

The reasons for this were related to the place of the sacrifice and the herd of cattle used. The place was determined by the village where the spirit of the dead Paramount was guarded by a particular house, and where some at least of the cattle belonging to that house were kraaled. Thus, in the northern kingdom, the spirit of Zwangendaba Jere was addressed in Ekwendeni; of Hlacwayo his father in Elangeni; and of Magangata his grandfather in Hoho. In the central kingdom the spirit of Mputa was addressed in Mcakhatha and also in Lizulu; and of his father, Ngwana, in a village in Portuguese territory. I heard no reference to the spirits of more recent Paramounts being addressed, and when I asked the reason several informants suggested that it was important to address the Ngoni Paramount who had been with his people in the south, and who therefore knew the names of the spirits of former Paramounts who had died in the south, names which the Ngoni in Nyasaland had forgotten. On the other hand, provision was made for the guardianship of the spirit of each successive Paramount, and in central Ngoniland there was provision for guarding the spirit of a Queen Mother, NaMlangeni, the big wife of Mputa who survived him, and of her daughter, the Royal Sister Bambo Manga. The reason given for the guardianship of the spirits of these two royal women in Mcakhatha illustrates the close link between the village where the spirit was guarded and the herd of cattle kept there and was explained by informants in the following terms. While the central Ngoni were still in Songea Paramount Mputa wanted cattle to give as *lobola* for his marriage to NaMlangeni. He went to Golozela, the head of the Nzunga clan, and asked him for cattle, which were handed over to the father of NaMlangeni. Golozela Nzunga then became the *induna* of the house of NaMlangeni in the royal village and her daughter Bambo Manga lived in his section. The cattle given for her *lobola* when she was married were put in the kraal of Golozela Nzunga to repay him for his previous gift. After her husband's death, Bambo Manga returned to the Nzunga head village where her cattle were, and assumed the guardianship of the spirits of her mother and of her father Mputa.

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Ancestral spirits of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans

Ngoni informants often made statements such as the following by Cibambo:

> ❡ The Ngoni believed that each family had its own line of spirits (*amadlozi*) dating far back to the origin of that family, and that these in succession carried the messages until they reached the unknown ancestors, who in turn had the right to carry the message to UMkulumqango.

When such a statement was checked in several areas it was clear that the families of the Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans focussed their

353 women's. For all ceremonies the men sat on the right side,
592 and the women on the left, the place of honour for the
[562] leading man and woman being by the main door-posts. No
young man or woman ever thought of sitting near them.
The other place of significance lay between the fire and the
back of the hut on the right-hand side; it was known as the
[778] 'place of the spirits', the 'ancestors' corner', where the
[769] baskets and spears and other ritual objects were kept which
were used in the ancestral cult. Only the owner of the hut or
those taking part in the ritual could approach this corner.

In this land, into the cultural pattern of Ngoni village and household life, the Ngoni children were born. In such villages and homes they passed their earlier years, and grew from boys and girls to young adults.

The Ngoni kingdoms

642 When the Ngoni made parts of Nyasaland their homeland
they set up conquest states on the pattern which they had
been familiar with in southern Africa. Where they settled,
[721] they either conquered the local peoples who lived in that
area, or accepted their submission. Until the British administration
[648] was established the Ngoni carried on wars and
raids against neighbouring peoples to enlarge the boundaries
of their kingdoms. As a conquest state, similar to that of the
[162] Ndebele in Southern Rhodesia, the population of the Ngoni
kingdoms was of mixed origin, some whose ancestors came
from Natal, some from the territories passed through on
their northward march, and some from Nyasaland itself.

The kingdoms were organized on a centralized pattern
● [643] with the Paramount Chief as supreme ruler and subordinate
chiefs under him. The Ngoni code of law operated in the
[671] courts of the chiefs, and, as they proudly said, 'there was
[692] one law for all people'. Military service was required from
[702] all young men, and each territorial chief had to bring his
[651] quota of warriors to the Paramount's village when a war
summons went out. Military service, obedience to the law,
000

that despite the vicissitudes of history there is some unbroken but 121
continually changing system of social relationships which we may
call Ngoni social structure, and that there is therefore some point
in comparing Ngoni marriage in the 1890's with Ngoni marriage
to-day; and on the other hand may prepare the way for a broader
analysis of Ngoni kinship, of which marriage is one part.

The Fort Jameson Ngoni, with whom alone we are concerned in 101
this paper, differ considerably from the other Ngoni groups in
Africa and there is evidence that there are differences in marriage
arrangements even from the nearby groups in Northern and Southern
Nyasaland. The Fort Jameson Ngoni, numbering about 85,000. [161]
live in the Fort Jameson District of Northern Rhodesia and in the
Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District of Nyasaland. Their 131
country stretches from 13°25'S to 14°S latitude and from 32°10'E
to 35°15'E longitude. Like other Ngoni groups they have a history
of migration from Natal at the time of the rise of the Zulu under 167
Shaka in the 1820's. They arrived at their present abode in about
1870 and were conquered by British troops in 1898. The leader [648]
of the group was Mpezeni I, and the present Paramount Chief, [643]
Mpezeni III, is his son's son's son. There are ten county chieftain-
ships in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, and each chief 631
has his own court. The people live by subsistence cultivation, with
maize as the main crop. A little maize and some cattle are sold 241
to the local European-owned tobacco farms and in the township of [439]
Fort Jameson, but the principal source of money income is work
on the farms or at the urban centres of Southern Rhodesia and the 464
railway line of Northern Rhodesia. Many women and almost all
men have been to Southern Rhodesia at some time or other[3].

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[3] For an outline account of the social structure of this group, see Barnes, 'The Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 194 - 252 in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, eds., *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1951.

segment of the residential system was recognized and institution- 581
alized. Furthermore, it is in line with this thesis that, in arranging 602
the marriage of recent captives, no great attention was paid to the 554
establishment of farflung affinal links. Frequently a man and a
woman who had been allocated to the same captor, and whom they
both addressed as 'father', married one another on his instructions.
Payments made in these marriages were small or non-existent.
Recent captives were too low in the hierarchical structure to be
concerned about reinforcing their position by horizontal ties. Their
ambitions were directed to securing promotion by becoming
lieutenants of their captors.

5. Autonomy of marriage

The pattern of segmentation of the residential system was 621
continually changing. In part this was due to proliferation 58
downwards, that is, by the process of increasing segmentation
between brothers and between fathers' sons. In addition to this 571
process political promotion and death in war altered the relative
position of the segments associated with particular people. Marriage
itself was a social process which, in so far as the relationship between
man and wife was concerned, did not react directly on the residential [611]
system. This system was based on patrilineal descent and patrilocal
residence and the movements of women, except at the level of the [591]
queens, were from one point of view irrelevant to the system. It
was the grouping of children round their mother, in contrast to
their father's children by other wives, which related the marriages
of one generation to the patterns of segmentation of the next. A
woman with no children in her house, whether her status was high [554]
or low, was structurally irrelevant to the residential system.

Marriage was also largely independent of the central government.
Warfare, not domesticity, was the right and proper occupation of [721]
young men, and the age at which men married for the first time was
probably about thirty. Informants all stressed that in the old days 582
first marriage took place at later ages for both men and women
than it does now. Wiese implies that girls were married any time
after puberty,[39] but my informants stated that girls did not usually [114]
marry until they were aged about twenty to twenty-five. Men
and women were organized into parallel age-sets, usually referred to [561]
as regiments, and corresponding regiments used to dance and frolic
together. Sometimes a man took a wife from the regiment corres-
ponding to his own, but there does not seem to have been any positive
obligation to do so. Particular regiments were not prevented from
marrying, as among the Zulu, and all the tales of the Paramount
Chief intervening in the affairs of warriors are phrased in terms of [643]
the chief instructing a laggard to find himself a wife when all his
age mates had already married. The chief did however interfere

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[39] Wiese, op. cit. 'Expediçao . . .', p. 473, and 'Geschichte . . .', p. 191.

The chief did however interfere

643 to some extent in the marriages of those near him and on occasion took away a wife from one man and gave her as wife to another. Nsingu, the heir of Mpezeni I, once took a wife from one of the important men in his mother's royal village and made her his queen. [562] The man committed suicide and Nsingu killed a beast to placate the anger of his mother's lieutenants. Such instances of intervention seem to have been rare and were disliked by the common people.

6. *Polygyny*

592 The pattern of growth of the residential system was determined by the grouping of children in the compound family. This grouping was in turn determined by the ranking of wives. It seems that the 595 South-Eastern Bantu system of dividing wives into three groups, [171] a great house and a left- and a right-hand house was not continued. Old men are agreed that in the past wives could be described as either left-hand or right-hand, but there is no agreement on the principles of this division. In discussing the wives of well-known men who flourished about this period, there was no consensus about which women were left-hand wives and which were right. The division cannot in any case have had the same spatial reference to the husband's cattle byre as among the South-Eastern Bantu, [361] since the Ngoni lived in large villages with a central byre containing all the cattle of the village.

595 592 Wives were arranged into small groups which we may term 'bands'. A band might contain up to a dozen co-wives and was under the charge of its senior member. Wives in a band lived close to each other in the same cluster of huts. A man might have as many as five or six bands of wives, and the senior wife of one of the bands was the man's great wife, the mother of his heir. We have seen that a cross-cousin was inferior to an unrelated wife, and a wife from the same or related village inferior to one from afar. These two considerations, however, seem only to have influenced a man's choice of senior wives and did not themselves directly determine wifely rank. Thus a man could if he wished make a cross-cousin from his own village his great wife or the senior wife of one of his bands, but most men did not do so. The first wife married with bridewealth was the great wife. If there was a wife married earlier for whom no bridewealth had been paid, perhaps a cross-cousin or a recently captured woman, then she became subordinate to the chief wife and was regarded as a member of her band. Wives married subsequently were attached to this band until the husband decided to start another band. He took either one of the wives of his great wife's band or else a newly acquired wife, and established a new cluster of huts for her. Some other members of the great wife's band might be transferred to the new band, as subordinates of the newly promoted wife. As the man continued to take new wives they were allocated to one or other of the existing bands. If the husband was an important man he allocated to each

easily. Paramount Chief Mpezeni III, in a Christmas broadcast 692
in 1948, addressed to Ngoni workers in the towns, said 586

> Think not that I divorce your wives merely when they come to court. [643]
> I do so when I see you send no money or clothes or you stay away for more
> than five years, not writing or sending anything to your families. I do [539]
> this when they come to see me, both she and your parents. You do no
> good to your families by forgetting them all when you are in a strange
> country.

The grounds on which divorce is granted are more or less the same in the court and the village, but although the court, like the village assembly, thinks of itself as being primarily concerned with 'teaching people to live well together', it is also, unlike the village, concerned [182] with reinforcing the power of the Native Authority bureaucracy and upholding the authority of the chiefs. Hence the court gives greater weight to the formalities of marriage and the theoretical rights inhering in the different payments. The chiefs, councillors, assessors, [693] clerks, and police who make up the court are all men, whereas in the village meeting old and important women give their views and they [562] are listened to with attention. My impression is that women are less favoured in the courts than they are in the village.

The law that the legalization payment shall be not less than 671 thirty shillings was agreed to at a meeting of chiefs and their 583 supporters in about 1944. Informants said that the law was 684 introduced so that women as well as men could be punished for their adultery. It was argued that in a marriage in which no bridewealth had been paid, and only a few shillings as the legalization payment, the woman's kin could not in equity be called upon to pay damages on her behalf to her husband when she committed adultery. Adultery was thought to have increased, and women were as much to blame as men. By making the legalization payment a considerable amount, equal at the time to two months wages, it became possible to punish the woman in the same way as her lover. As we have seen, not everyone keeps this law, and women are married with a smaller amount as legalization payment, or with no payment at all. It is held by some people that a marriage certificate will not 581 be issued unless at least thirty shillings legalization payment has 583 been handed over, but in fact it is still possible to get a certificate when some smaller sum has been paid. In the light of developments in other tribes of the Eastern Province, it seems likely that before long thirty shillings legalization payment will become necessary before a certificate can be obtained.

One copy of the certificate is given to the man and another to the 486 woman. With the help of her certificate, and of letters from her 562 husband showing he is calling her to join him, a woman can get a pass from the court allowing her to buy a ticket on the bus going to the railway line or to Nyasaland. These certificates have therefore considerable value, and one woman's pass may be used by another

"Wage war on the *Afo*, 766
Hayo, hayo, ho, 539
They have left him; 533
They have left him in their midst."

"*Humba*, the mighty medicine man, has gone with them,
He has swallowed a magic horn, has *Humba*."

The shield of the chief, which he was wont to carry (*kugwira*), they burn on a fire at one side, and all his household belongings. When the fire has burned out, and the corpse also is consumed and turned to ashes, water is splashed over (the spot). Should the stream have been dammed they pull down the barrier, and all the ashes go down the *Mawi* (a river). When they see all is finished a sheep is killed, they take a wooden spoon and catch the blood and place it on the rock. Then they skin the sheep, cut it open, take the stomach, turn out the contents on the rock, and smear it over. The elders only eat the meat. When they have done this they go off to the village and kill many oxen, the people still keeping up the rolling sound with their shields. All the ornamental tufts of grass from the hut roofs belonging to the chief are removed. 766 [231]

IV. Next morning all the headmen shave their heads, and then the people from the different villages. The widows put on the red head-bands. Then they allow three days to pass, and on the fourth every one assembles and the new chief stands at the village court on one leg. One old man steps out and says, "Do you hear, your new chief is so and so" (naming him by his clan-animal name). Then every one shouts, "Hail," and the thunder of their shields is heard, and all around is a mass of waving plumes (trans. *biriwiri*). Then the elders 765 766 643

● 643 take the "child," going with him to a hut to give him instruction, saying, "To-day you stand alone. Look after your people as did your father before you. [183] If a man be at fault, forgive him; but the sin of adultery cannot be pardoned."

IV

THE UNAMWALI CEREMONY

881 I. When a young girl finds she has become a woman, she goes and stands beside the pathway [leading to the village]. Any one passing finds her there, standing silent. If it be a man who notices her, he goes off and tells some woman, saying to her, "I have come across game, go and lift it." An old woman goes off to speak to her. She finds the girl, her face enveloped in her calico, and giving no answer to any question put to her. Then the old woman knows the girl is now a matured woman, and takes her off to the stream to bathe her. On returning with her from the water she places her in the hut of the head old woman of the village. (The old woman who first found her is the head of the ensuing ceremony.) Then the old woman goes off to inform other elderly women that "the maiden has reached womanhood." The girl remains in the hut six days. Should she be of the clan of [614] *Kuoni*, they give her porridge made from millet only, if of any other clan, porridge made of any [262] grain. In her relish they do not put salt. Her porridge she eats out of an old basket, and the relish from a potsherd. (This old basket will be

181 that the defeat of 1898 is important. Although they claim to have conquered
186 all their African neighbours, Ngoni do not claim success over the British.
Instead, defeat at the hands of the British is cited in explanation of every
648 present-day failure and of every departure from traditional practice. Ngoni
186 say, "If we had not been defeated we would not have lost our land and we
would not now go hungry"; and "If we had not been defeated the tribes
would not have been mixed up and we could follow our customs properly",
[729] and so on. In the past, captives taken by the Ngoni were rapidly indoctrinated
with Ngoni ways and themselves became proud Ngoni; Ngoni complain
that now, although captured by Europeans, they never become Europeans.

538 The general legends of the past from which these notions are derived are
814 common knowledge. In the main they are passed on orally and are maintained
by the teaching of tribal history in schools, the appeals to old military
traditions, when recruiting for the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, the conversations
of planters comparing one tribe with another as labourers, by the
reports of administrators and by the writings of ethnologists.

643 The link between the Ngoni of today and their illustrious forebears is also
182 symbolized in the office of the Paramount Chief. He bears the name of his
[551] warrior great-grandfather, and the formal aspects of his relationship to his
people are explained by reference to his ancestors' achievements. He cannot
attend funerals or take part in some of his own marriage ceremonies because
"he has already conquered all others"; he cannot be expected to walk through
the bush with the District Officer because "he has already conquered the
whole world". He basks in his great-grandfather's invincibility, for in this
context the defeat of 1898 is forgotten. The relationship between the Paramount
Chief and his eleven minor chiefs is partly determined by the distribution
of power in different branches of the royal lineage before the
European conquest, and the division of the country into these minor
chiefdoms is a visible reminder of that distribution.

829 Associated with these tales of military exploits and royal power are myths
178 about former customs. Ngoni say that in the old days they used to hunt, or
marry, or build villages, in a particular way and that now they do differently.
Frequently when I asked what happened in such-and-such a situation I would
be told what my informant thought would have happened before 1898 rather
[583] than what he had seen happen now. Thus if we ask what payments do Ngoni
make in marriage we are told that there are two payments, "snuff-box" and
bridewealth, consisting of one or more beasts. Further inquiry reveals that
these payments are now made only infrequently and that the period referred
to is before 1898. More detailed investigation suggests that in many pre-1898
marriages they were not made and that when they were made they did not
always consist of beasts. Ngoni do not deny these facts but they do deny their
relevance. To them the distinctively Ngoni way of marrying is with these
two payments, and it is this process alone which merits the vernacular
adjective—*cingoni*. They regret that people no longer marry in this way and

TRADITION AND PRESTIGE AMONG THE NGONI

MARGARET READ

I. The Ngoni People. Before I made my first camp in an Ngoni 114
village, many Europeans had said to me, 'There are practically no 178
Ngoni left to-day. They are all hopelessly mixed with other tribes.
None of them keep to the Ngoni customs any longer. Their chiefs
are no good.' From the doorway of my hut I saw people coming all [643]
day long to the Paramount Chief, behaving towards him with pro-
found respect, bringing him presents, working for him. His children [644]
formed a special group in the village, easily recognizable by their
bearing and their manners. Old *indunas*[1] came to instruct me, as they
had instructed chiefs in their day, on the duties of a ruler, and the
code of Ngoni laws. Old warriors in war dress came and danced by
the cattle kraal and sang praise songs. Courts were held with scrupu- [692]
lous regard for order and justice. Other chiefs came visiting from
distant parts with their retinues, and were received ceremonially. It [631]
soon became apparent that here was the centre of a political state,
whose head was invested with prestige and authority over a wide area,
and where behaviour to the Paramount and to every one else was [183]
strictly regulated by custom, and as strictly observed. These were
Ngoni, and they and their fellow Ngoni in other areas[1] for the next ten months introduced me to the Ngoni people. The European assertion, that they no longer existed as a people, they laughed at, and proceeded to demonstrate that the contrary was true.

The Ngoni are found to-day scattered over four East African terri- 131
tories. The largest groups are in Nyasaland in the districts of Mzimba, Dowa, Fort Manning, Dedza, and Ncheu. In Northern Rhodesia they are in the Fort Jameson and Lundazi districts bordering on Nyasaland. Another section is in Portuguese East Africa on the South-West border of Nyasaland. Under other names there are Ngoni settle-
ments in Tanganyika Territory. The present divisions of the Ngoni 101
are due partly to European frontiers, partly to the fact that more than

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[1] According to the census returns there are about 80,000 Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia and nearly 250,000 in Nyasaland, with other groups in Tanganyika Territory and Portuguese East Africa.

[1] [i.e., military leaders.—Analyst]

101 one party of them came up from the south, and partly to divisions
among the Ngoni during the period of settlement.

About 115 years ago the ancestors of these Ngoni left their homes
173 in the present Zululand and Swaziland for their long trek north. The
immediate cause of their departure was the defeat of Zwidi, chief of
the Ndwandwe people, by Chaka, the history of whose military
career in Zululand is well known and needs no repetition here. As
part of Zwidi's people, the Ngoni did not want to stay under Chaka,
and the same impetus and military skill which set up Chaka as the
Zulu Napoleon drove the Ngoni northward as far as Lake Tanganyika,
a conquering military horde amassing followers on the way. To-day
101 they are found in three large groups and several smaller ones, the
● [649] large groups known as the 'countries' of Mpezeni, Mwambera, and
Gomani, who are the Ngoni Paramount Chiefs.[1]

121 These groups of people with their southern origin, settled among
people who had a totally different language and social structure, present to the anthropologist a highly complex situation to investigate.
He must at the outset ask the questions, 'Who are these Ngoni? Have
they a separate identity as a people, marked by distinctive social and
[114] political institutions?' After living among them for nearly a year
I am convinced that it is correct to speak of the Ngoni as a distinctive
101 group; that they themselves are very conscious of their separate iden-
619 tity as a people, and that they can point to certain of their institutions,
notably their language and political, territorial, and kinship groupings,
which are definitely Ngoni, that is, of southern origin, and which
distinguish them from the people among whom they settled. The
121 complexities of this situation involve the analysing of the ethnic
elements included in this term 'Ngoni' and the determining of the
sense in which it is to be used. They involve also an explanation of
what is meant by the expression 'a distinctive Ngoni culture', or
'distinctive Ngoni institutions'. The anthropologist who is interested
in culture contact must go further and indicate the nature of the double
contact caused first by the intermingling of the Ngoni with other
tribes, and then by the advent of the Europeans. It is not possible in
this article to do justice to all these aspects of an intricate problem.

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[1] For the purposes of this article these are the only groups which will be considered.

614 a hierarchy of rank expressed in the clan names, and this rank is
563 evident in the position of houses on a village site, and the degree of
authority exercised by the clans and the respect[1] accorded to them.
In effect, all those whose ancestors were absorbed before the final
101 break up of the main Ngoni group are recognized as having some
563 claim to the name Ngoni. The rest, that is the clans found in the areas
where the Ngoni finally settled are, or rather were, regarded as conquered or slave people.

101 We have seen, however, that there is a much wider sense in which
the term Ngoni is used—that is, by all who live under the rule of the
641 Paramount Chief. This extended usage is due to the prestige and
186 honour in which the stricter meaning of Ngoni is held. It was illus-
● [643] trated in the instance of the Nyasaland men in Johannesburg, who
all claimed to be Ngoni because they had discovered at once that the name commanded respect among the mixture of tribes to be found on the mines. *Indunas* and other leading men sometimes make use of this wider connotation when boasting about the large numbers of people owning allegiance to the Ngoni Paramount Chief, compared with the other petty chieftainships. 'All those in the country of Mpezeni are Ngoni. All are his people.' At the same time they make it clear that there is a distinction between the real Ngoni and the other subjects of the Paramount—a distinction which formerly was much sharper than it is to-day. All are the people of the Paramount, it is true, but in old days the majority of the non-Ngoni were called slaves. To this day the Ngoni when angry may call out to some one, 'Chewa, Chewa', implying 'Slave, slave', and be hauled to the chief's court for insulting language. There the chief will take pains to point out that there are no slaves to-day, and that no Ngoni must 'spoil the country' by insulting the people of the Paramount.

It is, I think, clear that there is a connotation in which the term
101 Ngoni can be used with some degree of scientific accuracy—that is,
to cover all those clans which are not belonging to the local tribes, or, in an even stricter sense, the clans of indubitably southern origin.

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[196] [1] This word 'respect' is constantly in use among the Ngoni. It implies both
[571] 'honour' and 'fear', and they sometimes use one word and sometimes the other.
It really means, 'to give a person his due', that is, to behave towards him (or her) in the manner which his rank requires.

serve their own culture, so that they were not submerged in the very 121
different cultures round them? The Ngoni themselves give the answer 648
to this first question, saying, 'We fought with spears and shields; 411
those others had only bows and arrows and sometimes guns.'[1] The
making of these shields, which formerly gave courage and protection 181
to the warriors, is to this day almost a ritual. To watch a chief working
at one on the threshold of his hut, or a village headman and his friends
cutting and shaping one in the kraal, is to realize the value put on them
by the Ngoni. They refuse to make them for sale as curiosities, and
several Europeans have told me that they have tried in vain to get one.

Having conquered by the shield and spear, the Ngoni maintained 563
their prestige by their highly developed political organization. All
around them were small chieftains owning a few villages with no
integration in any large political unit.[2] The Ngoni state was focussed
in the *inkosi*, the Paramount Chief, who was at once the 'owner'[3] of [643]
the land, the 'head'[3] of the state, and the 'father'[3] of his people.
The Ngoni, as we have seen, are always ready to indicate those institutions 101
and related traditions which mark them off from the surrounding 619
tribes, and which give their state a cultural reality of its own. They 186
point first to their language and their traditions of Dingiswayo, Zwidi, [173]
and Chaka as proving their southern origin. Other neighbouring
peoples have vague traditions of wandering from north to south, or
west to east, but the Ngoni know exactly where they came from and
by what route. Their language is almost identical with old Zulu. [197]
I was told by many Europeans that it hardly existed any longer, and
I was therefore surprised to find to what an extent it is still spoken
and used. Most of the true Ngoni to-day are bilingual[4]; with the exception [191]
of a few very old Ngoni people, everyone to-day speaks
one of the local vernaculars, Nsenga, Tumbuka, or Chewa.[5] Ngoni
is the language of the aristocrats, and a large proportion of the true

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[1] The kind of antique guns traded to the Chewa by the Portuguese and Arabs were no match for the Ngoni skill with the long throwing-spear or the short stabbing-assegai, and the bullets were such that the stout cow-hide shields of the Ngoni could withstand them. Hence the consternation of the Ngoni when the machine-gun bullets of the British troops pierced their shields in the Ngoni 'war'.

[2] With the possible exception of Chikuramayembe, Chief of the Henga.

[3] Translations of vernacular terms.

[4] Or trilingual if they know English too.

[5] The same as Nyanja.

history in order to prove their unity with the true Ngoni. It is nevertheless 814
recognized that the aristocrats, through their kinship links with [565]
the past, have the best knowledge; the rest listen and defer to them.
For matters relating to history are no antiquarian interest to the Ngoni.
It is probable that recalling history and dwelling on the great days of
the past is to some extent a compensation for what the Ngoni consider
the indignities of their position to-day. Yet it is also a stimulus [186]
to them to maintain their separate identity and to revere their institutions.
Tradition supports rank, by recognizing the historical importance [182]
of certain clans; and rank preserves tradition because intimate
knowledge is the proud monopoly of certain families.

V. Tradition and Legend as Documentation. To the anthropologist 121
who examines the part played by tradition and legend in the
culture of a people, Professor Malinowski has given an invaluable
lead. He suggests that myths are the charter and documentation for
traditional tribal life, ' statements of reality which live in the institutions
and pursuits of the people';[1] and that legend is re-interpreted
history. All peoples of whatever level of civilization interpret history
in the light of their beliefs about themselves, their achievements, and
their destiny. The Ngoni are no exception to this. Sometimes they 814
relate factual history which is verifiable and accurate. At other times 182
it is probably part fact, part fiction. Yet at all times the emphasis in,
and interpretation of, tradition, has a definite purpose, and it is possible
to see how a standardized form of a narrative has come to be accepted
and believed in. The version of a narrative at one time was interpreted
or moulded to serve a purpose. Having been established, it
then moulds the thinking of the people on that particular issue. The 173
vexed question of the supremacy of the two Paramounts, Mpezeni 829
and Mwambera[2] is a case in point. The basis of the story of the original 643
dispute is the same, but the versions as told in each ' country ' differ
in a succession of minute details, whose arrangement and emphasis
prove the point in each case. Mpezeni's historians have arranged the
details to prove that he is the rightful *inkosi*; Mwambera's historians

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[1] B. Malinowski. Article on Culture in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*.

[2] The two Paramounts at present holding these titles are grandsons of the first holders, to whom I refer as old Mpezeni.

173 do the same. And in each area the versions as recited convince the
829 people that their *inkosi* is supreme. The main purpose of the tradition
643 was to show that there cannot be more than one rightful *inkosi* of
the Ngoni. The present day interpretations serve the same purpose and exalt one of the two claimants at the expense of the other.

The traditions centring round the person of Zwangendaba are numerous. Some of these are concerned to show that he was an important chief in the south under Zwidi, and that the Jere clan of which he was head was a leading one. Other accounts do not disguise that he was an upstart, but lay stress on his success as leader of the Ngoni in their trek north. All these traditions about Zwangendaba are told as documentation for the importance of the *inkosi*, and centre round the Ngoni belief that their state must have one head in whom authority is centralized. It is easy to see that the circumstances under which the Ngoni state was created demanded a strong autocratic ruler. The traditions gathered round this first ruler of their state now serve to perpetuate the beliefs about the office of Paramount Chief, beliefs which modern ideas and western education have hardly modified at all.

173 Ngoni history divides into three periods, and the traditions in each
829 period, as they are told, form the people's thinking about that section
of their past. The traditions of the earliest period, that is, of their life in the south and their trek north, are the charter for their pride as a distinctive people. The traditions of the middle period, of their conquests and settlements, document their superiority over the surrounding peoples. The traditions of the last period, that of the arrival of the European, determine their attitude towards white contact. Their interpretation of their history, therefore, reflected in the established legends and tradition, influences profoundly their thinking about themselves, about their neighbours, and about the Europeans.

173 VI. Prelude to White Contact. This second period of Ngoni
167 history includes the events from the crossing of the Zambezi to the
coming of the Europeans, roughly the years 1835–1885. During these fifty years the original Ngoni horde, with additions to it from the tribes south of the Zambezi, explored the country in which they were finally to settle, went farther north into Tanganyika, and finally

M difference to-day between the attitude of the Ngoni to the Europeans
173 and that of the Chewa, for example. In the vernacular expression the
829 Ngoni say, 'The Europeans spoiled our country'; the Chewa say,
184 'The Europeans saved us'.

N *Chamtendere*, then, was the period of Ngoni supremacy, when they
173 established by force of arms their right to rule over the country and
178 its indigenous inhabitants. There was, however, some difference between the political organization of the Ngoni as a conquering
642 horde on the march, and their organization when they finally settled in their present areas. At both times the focus of their organization was warfare—they were a nation under arms. But once settled on land which they had chosen they began to spread a network of political organization over the country, and to plan in terms of 'countries'[1] instead of mobile villages. To-day when they discuss the advent of the Europeans and the consequent 'spoiling' of their country, they recall the days when extensive tribute was paid to their Paramount Chief, chiefs were free to choose good sites for their very big villages, the
N. outlying areas were ruled by *indunas* and lesser chiefs. It was the
[648] partial breaking up of this centralized political organization which
[829] they regarded as 'spoiling their country', as well as the economic restrictions with regard to land and the prohibition of raiding for new supplies of cattle.

N During this time of Ngoni supremacy Ngoni institutions flourished
173 —those institutions which they had brought with them from the
178 south and preserved through their wanderings. When they are telling
829 to-day about these years they speak fervently and reverently of the part played by the Paramount Chief in every side of life, the training
● 643 for warfare of all the young men, the instruction and supervision of
796 young chiefs by old *indunas*, Ngoni marriage and initiation ceremonies. It was during this time in Mpezeni's country that the *Inqwala* or first fruits ceremony was regularly observed at Mtenguleni, the village of the mother of old Mpezeni.[2] At this ceremony the Paramount Chief 'opened' the new food season by the ritual eating of new fruits, especially young maize and pumpkins. It was also the

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[1] i.e. chiefs' areas.

[2] The description of this *Inqwala* given by men and women who took part in it in their youth shows much similarity to the *Inqwala* of to-day among the Swazi.

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occasion on which he made known any new laws before the assembled 173
leaders of his country. The ceremony was marked by special songs 178
and dances performed only at that time. It was an occasion on which 829
economics, religion, politics, social life and recreation were brought 643 ●
together in a dramatic form in the part played by the Paramount 796
Chief *vis-à-vis* his people. When speaking of these 'good old days'
the Ngoni always refer to the *Inqwala*, for it was to them symbolic of
the greatness of their *Inkosi*, and of how 'they lived well' before the
Azungu came as despoilers. N

On the subject of warfare and of training for war the Ngoni will 173
talk for hours. Among the many things which they mourn in the 178
passing of the old order, they regret most the military training of 181
youths and men, and the age-grade system which was part of it. They 721
point out how a youth had his appointed companions to whom he [702]
stood in a recognized relationship of mutual obligation and assistance,
and with these companions he went through the grades of calf-herding
and cattle-herding until he graduated into a regiment. The field N
worker can observe how much Ngoni 'national feeling' was bound [196]
up with memories of war days, when to-day they put on their war [535]
dress and dance war dances at a chief's village. I have seen Chewa
men and women huddle together during these war dances, and mutter,
'Too many Ngoni are here', as if they were still in the days of fighting
and raids, while the Ngoni warriors swagger about, swishing their
kilts of skins and brandishing their shields and spears with every
appearance of reality. I have heard accounts of Ngoni raids for cattle
going as far as the Kafue River, into the Mashukulumbwe country,
given with such details of the places on the march that I think they N
must be substantially correct. Even if it is legendary, the recital of
such raids still fosters Ngoni pride and distinction, and I have heard [186]
an old man who took part in such a raid compare it scornfully with
young men going nowadays to Broken Hill and the Copper Belt.
'They go only for money', he said, 'We went for our *izidlodlo*[1] and N
for cattle to honour the *inkosi*'. M

The Ngoni are realists and they admit that while they planted their 173
institutions in the country and maintained most of them, at the same 829
time a measure of adjustment was going on to the local cultures. For 177
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[1] Head-ring, the sign of a warrior ready to marry.

When the first white people arrived, as
traders and missionaries and officials, they were all impressed with 114
the power of the Ngoni Paramount Chief and the impossibility of [643]
getting any footing in the country without his consent and aid. 'Mpezeni[1] is a very powerful chief . . . and shows the greatest dislike to any interference with his governing powers. He has formed a powerful kingdom where his subjects are mainly Chewa, Chipeta and Senga stock, but his power is consolidated by a Zulu and half-Zulu aristocracy.' Such was the official view of the Ngoni state under old Mpezeni expressed by Sir Harry Johnston, and similar impressions are recorded of the Ngoni states in Nyasaland. If this was the European impression of Ngoni supremacy it is easy to picture the feelings of the Ngoni themselves with all their pride of race and of achieve- [177]
ments in nation-holding, when for the first time a superior power loomed on their horizon.

VII. The Advent of the Europeans. I have up to the present 101
referred to the three Ngoni areas as if they formed one cultural unit. This is true of their earliest days, and to a large extent of the time called *chamtendere*. In spite of certain minor differences there was then a form of society and of political organization which was the same in all three areas, and they all possessed the same language, traditions, and aristo-
cratic hierarchy. After the advent of the Europeans, however, it 177
becomes impossible to generalize, as both the manner and the results 184
of white penetration varied so much in the three areas. As a study in culture contact where eye-witnesses, both white and black, are still available as informants, it is most illuminating to compare the effects of white contact in Mpezeni's and Mwambera's countries. In Mpezeni's the first contact was commercial, in Mwambera's, missionary. The contrast between Ngoni society in those two districts to-day is startling, and is commented on frequently by the Ngoni themselves. 'See', say Mpezeni's people, 'the Charterland Company came to us. To Mwambera's country it was Dr. Laws. And Dr. Laws's men can speak English to-day and we cannot. Our cattle were taken by the Europeans; Mwambera's were not. That is why they *lubola* their wives to-day with many cattle, and we have only a few cattle.' They often referred to these differences as soon as they knew I was going from

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[1] This was the old Mpezeni, son of Zwangendaba.

M Ngoni prestige depended partly on the very effective justice meted
178 out in the courts,[1] and also on the unquestioning allegiance of all
563 subordinate authorities to the Paramount Chief. A Chewa Paramount
648 Chief told me that he envied the power and prestige of the Ngoni
[692] Paramount, ' because all his chiefs obey him ', and there is undoubtedly
[643] a widespread admiration among the less united local tribes for the
centralized political organization of Ngoni, and the fact that they can
hold a large area and many people together as an effective unit.

N The Ngoni, therefore, in the course of the last thirty-five years have
178 to a large extent made the adjustments necessary to their changed
186 relations with the local peoples. They have accepted the new situation
de facto, though they do not necessarily acquiesce in heart. They still think they are due a unique position among the tribes, and for this reason they dwell continually on the glories of *chamtendere*. Nor does the adoption of some measure of European ways reconcile them to a different attitude. Even educated Ngoni teachers and ministers have said to me with deep regret, ' We are ashamed because we are being ignored to-day by other tribes '.

N Their attitude towards Europeans is also partly based on the Euro-
648 pean failure to accord them a unique position among the tribes, or
[609] at least to acknowledge their former unique position. This, to them,
[186] is a cause for feeling ashamed. They are ashamed too because the
[651] land, except in the Reserves, is no longer theirs, and they have to
[184] submit to taxation. ' To pay taxes, that is our war to-day ', and something of the old martial spirit is evident in the young men who successfully evade the tax collectors, where the tax is collected directly by the Government, as in Mpezeni's country. In Gomani's country, on the other hand, where taxes are collected through the chiefs and headmen, though the men groan at having to find the money, they do not attempt to evade it, first because it would be useless, and secondly because they acknowledge the right of the chiefs to collect dues from them.

N Any generalization about the Ngoni attitude to white people would
177 be inaccurate without much detailed explanation, for which there is no
609 space here. It is true though, I think, that at least in Mpezeni's country
and possibly in the others, too, the Ngoni have not yet willingly made

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[1] It is said that it is useless to bribe Ngoni chiefs and councillors.

sometimes held at the Paramount Chief's village. Each minor chief 647
holds meetings for the people in his own county to discuss matters of common interest.

Quarrels among the chiefs are mainly in terms of the traditional 628
norms rather than of the new differentiation between them in the Native Authority system. The Paramount Chief may abuse the minor chiefs for not coming to visit him on his return from a journey, or for not bringing beer with them when they come to visit him. In each county there are villages which claim to belong to the chief of some other county, on the ground that they originated from the capital village of that county. These interloping villages increase the pressure on the land of the county in which they are, and friction between the two chiefs concerned may ensue. The chiefs like to be able to offer new land for gardens to the people of their own villages, yet at the same time each chief likes to have as many villages as possible apparently under his sway. Hence there is competition both for the allegiance of the villagers as well as for the land that they occupy. These struggles [643]
may be resolved by the Paramount Chief or by the Administration [648]
with a redefinition of boundaries or by moving the interloping villages to some other region. The Administration has from time to time [692]
placed one county under the tutelage of the chief of another, on grounds of administrative efficiency or the inexperience of a young chief. These moves are interpreted as attempts by one chief to incorporate the county of the other into his own, and allegations of killing by sorcery may be made against one minor chief on the death of another. Attempts have also been made to usurp the paramountcy, [669]
but this cannot be done openly under the present régime.

Efforts are also made by members of the royal lineage to achieve 631
the creation of new chieftainships by asserting the traditional 64
autonomy of the rural districts into which the counties are divided for certain purposes. Seen in relation to the old system, these attempts are efforts to increase the segmentation in that branch of the royal lineage which corresponds with the modern county in which they live. It is unlikely that such attempts will be successful, as the policy of the Administration is opposed to the creation of new chieftainships.

Sanctions

The principal check on the power of the minor chiefs is that exer- 687
cised through the Paramount. The Administration, which is always 648

687 sensitive to suggestions that a chief may be oppressing his people, 648 usually works through the Paramount. One minor chief was sent to the Paramount's village for a period of instruction in order that he might learn how to rule wisely. On another occasion a chief who had abused the Administration was fined one month's salary by the Paramount. In both these instances the Administration was the initiator of the Paramount Chief's action, but he may also act without reference to it. It was reported to the Paramount that a certain minor chief had struck one of his subjects who had been slow to offer him beer. The Paramount warned the minor chief that he might kill someone this way, and that he ought to fine people, not to strike them. In a dispute between a minor chief and his court clerk over some new court furniture, which the chief wished to use in his own house, the Paramount intervened and ordered that the chairs be put in the courthouse.

643 The Paramount himself is subject to social constraint, and may be criticized by his senior lieutenants. He is advised on how he should behave by these men, and if his behaviour is unsatisfactory they may rebuke him. At county meetings, headmen and others can voice their 644 complaints against the royal house as a whole, and have from time to 661 time protested successfully at such a meeting against too many of the Native Authority posts being filled by members of the royal lineage.

The Native Authority

647 Under the Native Authority system, introduced by the Administration [648] in 1929, there are a number of paid officials, apart from the chiefs, whose salaries are met by the Native Treasury. They include councillors, assessors, clerks, police, postmen, school attendance officers, and others. The most important of these, and the most highly paid, are 692 the councillors and assessors. They sit once or twice a week in court and hear cases brought before them. Each of the chiefs has a court, and for the most part the cases that come before a county court are brought by people living in the county. When litigants from two counties are involved there is no definite rule as to which court will hear the case and it largely depends on the wish of the instigator of the proceedings. Cases come before the Paramount Chief's county court that concern people from other counties and a litigant may take his case from one chief to another, including the Nyasaland chiefs, in an attempt to obtain a favourable and enforceable decision. The Appeal Court sits at the Paramount Chief's village and is held once a month.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959

FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Table 1. *Village Types* 621 622

Type of village		*Senior resident*
Royal	Capital	First Lieutenant
	Regal	First Lieutenant
	Chief's	Chief
Cadet		Royal Headman
Commoner		Commoner Headman

This process of village formation may be illustrated from Mpezeni's own county. The capital of the county is the village founded by Mpezeni I for his chief wife and one or two other wives. His heir Singu was born in this village, and when he married he founded two villages of his own which are now regal villages. In the senior of these two Mpezeni II was born, and in about 1925 he founded a new village which is still the chief's village of the county. There are other regal villages in the county founded in a similar manner. 621

This formation of royal villages would, other things being equal, lead to a dispersal of the population. It seems, however, that the major factor in dispersing the population since 1898 has been the formation of independent commoner villages. Many of these villages have histories that go back to the foundation of the village as an independent unit immediately after 1898, and it seems likely that the unsettled conditions of those days and the burning of villages did much to bring about the breakdown of the old system in which the royal villages were more important than they are today. 161 621

The royal villages are more closely connected with the chieftainships than are the commoner villages, and the chiefs visit in them more frequently than in other villages. A dispute in a royal village is usually settled by a meeting in the village itself attended by the local chief, whereas in the case of an ordinary village dispute the matter would be taken to the chief for him to settle in his own village or court. A chief may be called to a royal village to drink beer. The royal herds of cattle are kept in the royal villages, and the chiefs look to the first lieutenants of their royal villages for the well-being of the royal cattle as well as of the inhabitants of the royal villages. All the cattle in the country are held to belong in one sense to the Paramount Chief himself,[1] but in as far as the cattle held by most people are concerned, there is no more to this statement than in the parallel expression that 628 [627] 422 231 643 ●

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[1] Cf. Coxhead, p. 27.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

422 231 643 Mpezeni is the owner of the land, or of the world. The cattle kept in the royal villages are held to have belonged formerly to Mpezeni I or to Zwangendaba, and therefore still belong to the Paramount Chief. Chiefs and other members of the royal lineage who have cattle inherited in this way, in fact dispose of them as they please when the Paramount Chief is not in their village, but if he appears and a beast is killed in his honour, it is the Paramount who is praised as the owner of the beast and not the local owner. In the capital and chief's villages the lieutenants are more under the control of the chief of the county, who may intervene to depose a lieutenant if he thinks that his cattle are not being well looked after.

622 621 648 The Administration does not distinguish between one type of village and another, and gives the same title of headman[1] to the man in charge of the village, whoever he may be. It tends to act on the assumption that all headmen are of equal status and have the same amount of authority in their villages. Combined with the decline in the power of the royal lineage, this policy may lead to the assimilation of the different types of village to a common form.

II. THE VILLAGE

Material Setting

361 Ngoni villages, which form the principal units of administration in the country, contain from half a dozen to 120 huts. It is seldom more than a quarter of a mile from one edge of a village to the other. There is a rough arrangement of huts into parallel lines, with the doors all facing the same way at right-angles to the direction of the lines. [343] Kitchen huts, which are similar in appearance to dwelling huts, are included in these lines, while in front of a line of dwellings may be a line of storehouses and sties for small stock. On the edge of the [417] village are the cattle byres. There are seldom any fences marking off courtyards within the village, so that it is possible to sit on the veranda of a hut and look along at all the other verandas. If there are well-established divisions within the village, the boundaries of the divisions may be indicated by lines of aloes.

592 Most people, except polygynists and some children, may be said to live in one hut, in which they keep most of their belongings and where they usually sleep. A single hut may be occupied by up to about ten

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[1] Usually *hedimani*, pl. *mahedimani*; otherwise *mfumu yamuzi*, pl. *mafumu amuzi*. The specific term for headman of a cadet or commoner village is *umnumzana*.

648 The tribe is represented to the Administration in the person of its chief, and the fact that it is through him that the Administration articulates with the tribe is realized by thinking people. In a wider sense, he represents the tribe to the White community as a whole. When I first started work in the area there were many formalities at my meetings with the Paramount Chief, so that I should understand the importance of his position. Mpezeni II is said never to have allowed a White to see him dancing, because of the mystical and social dangers involved. At a county meeting, held while the Paramount Chief was away in Livingstone, the court clerk reminded headmen that the month of May was approaching, and that he would soon be wanting people to hoe the Native Authority roads. When the time came, he did not want headmen to say they had no people. He continued: 'If the people do not obey the laws, then Mpezeni will not be well regarded by the Whites. Then when the Administration wants to make bad laws, Mpezeni will not protest, as he will want to punish his own people.'

643 554 177 If the chief is too attentive to the requirements of the Administration, then his standing with his own people is likely to suffer. A chief's court was once described as 'just a White court' because of its alleged bias in favour of the Administration's interpretation of native custom. On the other hand, this identification with the White Administration is not accepted by the chiefs and their advisers. In an adultery case, in which the husband did not want to divorce his wife but she refused to go back to him, Mpezeni, who was present, ordered the woman to return to her husband. A councillor asked the woman what she had to say. She said she loved the co-respondent. The councillor was annoyed, and asked her, 'Do you know who Mpezeni is?' The woman said, He 's a chief', using the usual word for chief, *mfumu*, current all over north-eastern Rhodesia. The councillor replied: 'No, Mpezeni is not just a chief, everyone is a chief nowadays.' The woman then said, He 's a White.' The councillor answered: 'No, Mpezeni is not just a White whose orders can be sometimes obeyed and sometimes ignored. Mpezeni is *nkhosi*, the great chief of the Ngoni, whose commands must always be carried out.'

TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI, GENEALOGY OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND NOTES.

By D. Gordon Lancaster.

NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

These tentative notes relating to the Ngoni are the result of many years of research 101
amongst the natives in the Eastern Province of N. Rhodesia, with whom I have been
in constant contact, firstly as a Government official and secondly as a friend. I have 123
received the greatest assistance and courtesy from the Paramount Chief, Mpezeni Jere II,
and I am further indebted to A. K. Jere, a son of old Chief Kapatamoyo Jere, 643
without whose knowledge, assistance and tactful handling of the old indunas these notes
and genealogy would never have been completed.

NOTES.

(1) Zongendaba (Zwangendaba, Uzwangendaba) Kumalo, son of Hlatshwayo of the 159
Ngoni tribe and his wife, Mquamache Nzima, was born near St. Lucia Bay in 1780 167
circa.

Zongendaba, when a young man, appears to have shown great promise as a military 173
leader. Hlatshwayo, his father, and Ziwide, uncle of his wife, Loziwawa Nqumayo, 643
appear to have been close neighbours and friends, and with other local clans for some time 648
resisted Tshaka. The date of Hlatshwayo's death is not known, but Zongendaba broke away from the district or tribal area with a large following, after the second attack by Tshaka on the Ndwandwe Tribe, whom the Ngoni were assisting. Mzilikazi, a younger member of the Kumalo, after this defeat served Tshaka as an Induna[1] for approximately two years, during which time his bravery and leadership, under the eye of Tshaka, brought him promotion. Zongendaba and Gwaza Tole broke away with a following in the year 1823; Mzilikazi followed towards the end of the year 1825.

In the same year, 1825, Soschangane, known as Manukusa, son of Sigode and a cousin of Zongendaba's wives, Loziwawa and Sosera, broke away with a following of Ama-Ndwandwe and entered into Tongaland, Portuguese East Africa, through
Swaziland. It is stated by native authorities that Zongendaba had with him girls and [721]
young women but no matrons, that they were few in number, that the Ama-Swazi were raided for cattle and suitable young girls, and that these were taken along with them on their northern migration through Tongaland and Lourenco Marques.

It is definitely stated that the following wives accompanied Zongendaba from their
tribal area: Loziwawa and Sosera. These women were daughters of Nombhengula, [595]
brother of Ziwide and son of Langa Vimba. Nombhengula was a brother of Ziwide and not as is sometimes stated a son.

[1] [induna=military leader--Analyst]

159 167 173 578 643 648 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight. Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Manukusa; this was the year of Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukusa and Zongendaba midway between the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

In the year 1833, in which Manukusa attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukusa and Zongendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by Mhlabawadabuka, a brother of Manukusa, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba broke with Mhlabawadabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the Ingwe-Kwizi River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo. [805] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zongendaba and an induna, Ngabi Maseko, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction [645] [684] was made, it is said, by Gwaze Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chulu, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukūma and Maafwa.

In 1845 Zongendaba died. 159 173 643 [766] [428] It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njekwane. He died at Mapupu in the Fipa country and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyinaluzi River. On his death bed he gave his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Sosera), Ntutu Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

159 173 562 (2) Loziwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi". She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great

migration about 1833; her burial place is unknown. She died without issue. She was 159
the eldest daughter of Nombhengula, who was a brother of Ziwide and Sigode, and a son 173
of Langa Vimba Nqumayo. She was a cousin to Manukusa, son of Sigode, and to 562
Nompetu, daughter of Ziwide, who married Matshobana, the father of Mzilikazi. Some- N
times it happens that a great wife or other major wife is not blessed with children. In M
those cases another woman is placed in her "house" with the object of raising seed to it. 171
The children resulting are looked upon as children of the establishment in which their 643
mother was "placed" and are in the same position as if born to the major wife; the 842
eldest son of a chief's "Great Wife" inherits the chieftainship of the tribe on the death 851
of his father. This was, and is, the custom of the Ngoni; it is also known to the
Achewa and Ansenga Tribes. This custom is known to the Ngoni as *Nshlanze*.

Zongendaba therefore took as *Nshlanze* Sosera Nqumayo, a younger sister of N
Loziwawa, and by her he had issue as follows:—Ntutu Mpezeni, the eldest son, "the 159
Inkosana of the Indhlunkulu," Jadose, Mtwalalichi, and Ndhlobvu Makekevu. Sosera 173
was born about 1808 near St. Lucia Bay. She migrated with the chief and followed 562
him through all his wanderings until his death, after which she accompanied her son [595]
and heir, Ntutu Mpezeni, into what is now the Fort Jameson district. There she settled
in her village called "Dingeni," where she died in 1900 and was buried near the site N
of the old village of Mtenguleni Uka Sosera close to the Kakolo stream; her grave is now [764]
marked by an euphorbia tree. The site is on the farm owned by Major Jefferies, O.B.E., [423]
which prior to the invasion of the Ngoni used to be the land of the Achewa chief, Kampara.

Sosera is well remembered by many natives who are living to-day, and although she died at a great age it is said that she was in possession of her full faculties until the last. She is described as being a real chieftainess and it is said that in later years if annoyed by the younger generation she would lay about her with her *mchiza* (staff) in a lusty
manner. Many amusing tales are told of her astuteness and dry humour. N

After Zongendaba's death, Sosera chose for a very beautiful woman, named Nthonane, 159
who was a young sister-wife to the house and who had borne no children, one, Sawaza 173
Mazunko, as a seed raiser, for which he received twenty head of cattle. A daughter was
born and named Ndawiri Jere; she now resides in the Fort Manning District of Nyasaland 595
and from her this information was obtained. Ndawiri looked upon Ntutu Mpezeni 842
as her brother, and Ndawiri was, and is, looked upon as one of Zongendaba's children. 602
She married Ndawombi, since dead, and has one son, Ndawombi Hara.

It is agreed by the old indunas that Ntutu Mpezeni would have been about nine years N
of age when he crossed over the Zambesi, that he was carried across as befitted a 159
Paramount Chief's heir, that, prior to the crossing, Zongendaba had given him a little 173
shield and an assegai, and that he had killed his first duiker buck before the crossing. 644
This is also borne out by the sons of Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma and Ngandu Mbawa, both
of whose fathers were set the task of being servants to the chief's heir in his youth.

(8) Mguzhulu Mphanza; one of the indunas of the Ziolomba Regiment. Crossed over the Zambesi in 1835. No further particulars known. 159 173

(9) Ntabeni Kumalo; half brother of Zongendaba. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Uthuvi. Regiment, Ziolomba. Died and was buried in Ufipa Country in 1846. [701]

(10) Mafu Kumalo; elder brother of Hlatshwayo. Father, Mangangati. Killed in action prior to arrival at the Zambesi.

(11) Hlatshwayo Kumalo, the son of Mangangati of the Kumalo clan; married Mquamache Nzima. He had three brothers, Mafu, Gumete and Mphange. He was the father of Zongendaba, Ntabeni, Somfula, Mgai and Lomapela. [614]

I have been unable to ascertain if he took part in the Great Migration. My information leads me to the conclusion that he was dead before Tshaka vanquished the Ama-Ndwandwe.

(12) Mtwalu Jere; born before the Crossing of the Zambesi, about 1833? Father, Zongendaba; mother, Nqutu Nzima; wife, Magodise; sons, Amon Jere, and Yohane Jere. Regiment, Manyoka Masoko. Refused the chieftainship because he stated that his father's, Chief Zongendaba's, last wishes had not been carried out. There is no truth in the statement that he was unfitted to hold the chieftainship through physical defects. Died in Nyasaland (Angoni Land), 1890. [643]

(13) Mombera Jere (Mbelwa); born at Chulu on the way to Fipa, 1840. Mother, Umnene Nzima, a Swazi; father, Zongendaba; half-sister, Mphangela; blood sister, Lomagazi, who it is stated by some was born before the Zambesi was crossed; son, Chimtunga, whose mother was cast off because of adultery. Chimtunga's appointment was not recognised by his grandfather's indunas. Died in 1891, Angoni Land, Nyasaland. [684] [643]

(14) Mperembe Jere. Not born north side of the Zambesi River; it is stated his mother did not cross the Zambesi in 1835. 159 173

Mperembe went into the Awemba Country after the break up of the tribe, but appears to have crossed back eastwards over the Loangwa River and joined Mombera and Mtwalu about 1868/9, after being badly beaten by the Chitimukulu. 643

It is known in the Mpezeni country that he captured Chanda mukulu, sister of Chitimukulu, whom he brought back with him and married at Mtelela village near the Mulowi River, that he had one son by her named Chinombo, and that after the Ngoni rebellion Chanda mukulu was returned to her own country; she resided on the Mackera River for some years. She had slits in her ears so large that one could put one's hand through them. [583] [304]

My informant, Sayeye Phiri, who was born at Kasitu, was caught by Mombera's people at Kanyenda, Kotakota, and made a slave; she knew Mombera and Chanda mukulu well. She is well over seventy and resides in the Fort Jameson Location. Mperembe Jere appears to have been a disgruntled and bloodthirsty despot and to have had no interests other than bloodthirsty raids and the joys of his harem. He [115 567 152]

He

159 was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

643 (15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in
November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief
173 Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military
167 Adviser; Mguzhulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment;
551 Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief
[643] Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was
Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide,
[645] white spot), Somfula, Maghaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives
[701] of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Sosera Nqumayo,
[595] Great Wife; Umnene Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu;
Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndauya Mbanzima,
[593] Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—
Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—
173 Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nquaneleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.

167 Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula,
551 Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undina, Mtiyane, Lomapela.
593 Chief Diviner or *Isanusi*:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe;
[595] Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere;
Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere;
Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife.
Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of
[727] 1898. Grandson:—Chiloa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

159 (18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

766 Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle
kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

[727] Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near
Msesa Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vubwi Valley; buried on the top of Nsaswe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayungo (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu,
704 Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera,
Mabema, Kambayenda, Mafelakudeni, Chimalilembalemba.

173
(19) The *isi-bongo*[1] "Jere," appears to have definitely not been used prior to the
year 1835, and from information received it is extremely unlikely that it was in general [614]
use until after the death of Zongendaba. The chief *isi-bongo* up to that time appear
to have been Kumalo, Nqumayo, Tole (said to be the eye of an ox), Nzima, Gama,
Mkhalapi, Ndhlovu, and Nkosi.

The *isitakazelo*[2] now little used were Ndaba and Ntungwa. [576]

The language spoken by the Ngoni was closely allied to isi-swazi. [197]

The Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, still receives the royal salute of "Bayete" on all [643]
official occasions and in his own home.

(20) Ba-Pule people. It is stated that, when the Ngoni first met these people, they
carried long spears and shields made of game hides, and they could converse [648]
with the Ngoni in isi-swazi, which was not the language of the Ba-Pule; when they
spoke their own language they were not understood by the Ngoni. The general
opinion of the old indunas is that they were BaSuto people. They supplied excellent
fighting material to the Ngoni impis and were treated as equals.

INTERESTING NOTE re DEATH OF LOBENGULA. 159

Lobengula, Chief of the Ama-Tebele. It is stated as follows. 173

Lobengula crossed the Zambesi at Manyerere Drift and arrived at the Mtenguleni 643
Uka Susera village on the Lutembwe River in January, 1894. He was carried by an
Ngoni party who had been sent for that purpose. He was a very heavily built man with [142]
a large protruding belly, and breasts like those of a woman heavy in milk. So cumber-
some was he, that he had to be helped to move about from one place to another. He [276]
had a great pipe in which he smoked hemp. If he passed the pipe he would talk, but if
not it was a sign he wished to be alone. When Chief Mpezeni visited him he used to
crawl on his hands and knees to greet him. The day Lobengula died the rock on the [763]
Sanjika Kopje split and fell and all the great Ngoni indunas mourned. Sanjika is on the
road between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning. I have seen the split and fallen rock.

It is not known where Lobengula was buried; as he was a fugitive from justice, the [766]
secret was closely kept. It is said he died shortly after his arrival from the Zambesi in
1894. This information was given by an aged Ngoni councillor, named Ropu, who [115]
resided near Fort Jameson, and died in 1927. This story is but little known and usually
all knowledge is denied of this subject.

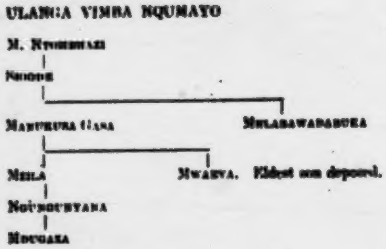
List of people who, being the oldest living Ngoni, attended a meeting held on Friday, Saturday, and 115
Sunday, 18th, 19th and 20th of January, 1935, at the Paramount Chief's village to discuss the history of
Chief Zongendaba:—Bazaliyo Soko, Zamajaya Mphanza, Mshamunye Mphanza, Mshawa Mwase Shawa, 527
Dede Tole, Mjoko Ndwambi Jere, Malwalaliche Tembo, Maraje Nkhawa, Katenda Manymuny Makowane,
Kapondela Joseni Mvula, Machifika Mphanza, Chhengachane Nguluwe, Chiwere Maimba, Maulau Jere, 551
Mapulanga Mphanza, Chief Mpezeni Jere II, Chief Madzimawe, Andrew Kapatamoyo Jere, James Ndawambi 814
Hara, Matrino Kangwere Nkhuwa, Penyani Mvula, Adriyano Phiri, Zebulabulo Gawani Mawere, Chingulukani
Dimba, Siya Mvula, Ngungu Singu Jere, Mshawa Mphanza, Mearki Lukhelo, Njombwa Tembo, Adonibezeke
Mshanga, etc.

[1] [isi-bongo = sib name -- Analyst]

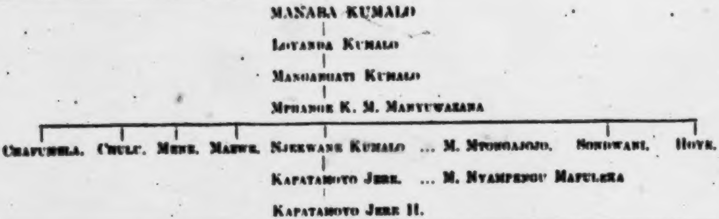
[2] [isitakazelo = honorific epithets -- Analyst]

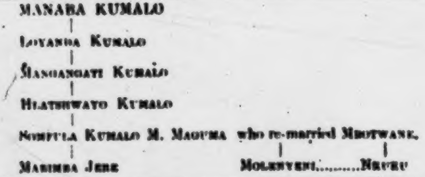
173

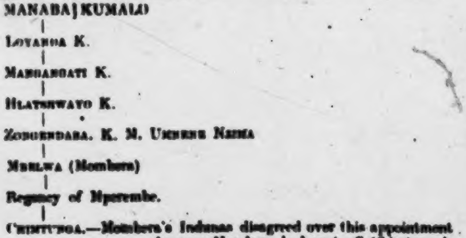
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF ABA-GAZA. LINE. (D.)


ULANGA VIMBA NQUMAYO
M. Ntombhazi
Nqode
Manukuza Gasa
Mhlabawadabuka
Mzila
Mwawa. Eldest son deposed.
Ngungunyana
Mdugaza

GENEALOGY OF SOME NGONI CHIEFS. (E.)


MANABA KUMALO
Loyanda Kumalo
Mangangati Kumalo
Mphande K. M. Manyuwazana
Chafumbila.
Chulu.
Mene.
Mawe.
Njekwane Kumalo ... M. Ntomboajojo.
Sondwani.
Hoye.
Kapatamoto Jere. ... M. Nyampenqu Mafuleka
Kapatamoto Jere II.


MANABA KUMALO
Loyanda Kumalo
Mangangati Kumalo
Hlatshwayo Kumalo
Somfula Kumalo M. Magumba who re-married Mbotwane.
Marimba Jere
Molenyeni.........Nkuku


MANABA KUMALO
Loyanda K.
Mangangati K.
Hlatshwayo K.
Zongendaba. K. M. Umnene Nsima
Mbelwa (Mombera)
Regency of Mperembe.
Chimtunga.

Chimtunga.—Mombera's Indunas disagreed over this appointment because Mombera had cast off Chimtunga's mother for adultery.
Deposed by Nyasaland Government 1915.

[643]

K—Kumalo
M—Married

barren with terror, till a great belt of uninhabited territory 175
surrounded Ngoniland on all sides. It was sad to pass through [101]
this rich land, left to the wild beasts, to see mouldering smelting
furnaces, and other signs of lost industries.

It was when the tribe was still in the height of its devastating 177
tendencies that the Livingstonia Mission came into the country.
At first the early pioneers were barely tolerated, and more than 175
once it seemed as if they would have to abandom everything and 797
flee for their lives. But gradually, imperceptibly the preaching of
peace began to sweeten and purify the atmosphere, and the horrors
of these fighting days became part and parcel of a dreadful past.
Three years ago a new paramount chief was elected. At the [643]
great council the wild spirits of the tribe tried to rouse the people
to celebrate the coronation with a great raid. They danced,
threatened and raved, but the younger chiefs, themselves Christians,
spoke eloquently for peace, and in the end peace prevailed, and the
death knell of the past was sounded. And now there is no more
settled, peaceable, law-abiding people in Central Africa. And this
victory has been won not by the rattle of Maxim guns, not even
by the wisdom of diplomacy, but by the daily teaching of the
Gospel of Peace.

The political structure of the tribe is strong and conservative. 643
The father of all the people is the paramount chief. His authority
has descended to him through a long line of ancestors, the eldest
son of the principal wife succeeding to his father's position. In
some cases the head wife has had no sons, then she adopted a son
of one of the other wives and he became the heir. The chief's
power is nominally absolute, and he is surrounded with a certain
regal dignity. It is impressive to see the aristocratic majesty that
a great chief can maintain. Though his regal robes may not be
more than a dirty bit of blue calico, which is not worth fourpence,
he walks with a scornful dignity that any European prince might
envy. When he listens in court to some great indaba his face is [692]
expressionless as granite, with an affected indifference he drinks [213]
from his great calabash of beer, and ladles ounces of snuff into his
nostrils, while his poor subject pleads with passion and eloquence [216]
over a matter which may mean death or life to him. Yet behind
his nominal power he is controlled and restrained by the voice of [645]
his council. His succession may be plain and acknowledged, yet
he cannot assume the reins of government until he has been nominated
by the sub-chiefs and councillors. Our present chief had to

643 wait for six or seven years before the procrastinating headmen
[645] could lay aside jealousies, and actually place him in the authority of
his father. Then when he is crowned he cannot sit in judgment
[692] or give a decision unless his councillors have been summoned,
and have deliberated with him. Many a time in the old fierce
days the councillors and chief argued and defied one another for
weeks at a time over the question as to whether the white man
was to be tolerated in the country, and it was the strong affection
of old Mombera for Dr. Laws, and Wm. Koyi which alone held in the
dogs of war, and prevented his councillors from going forth on an
exterminating expedition. Yet in spite of the great power of the
chief he lives as father of the people with all the villagers as his
children. His house is like their own, built right in the centre of
[567] the village. The poorest slave has access to him, and he hands his
beer pot or his snuff to the meanest villager when he would
show him friendliness.

[622] Under the paramount chief there are four great sub-chiefs, and
[634] each of them has his councillors and headmen. Then these
headmen have each a group of villages under their control. They
[692] hear and dispose of petty quarrels between the villagers. Cases
in which headmen are involved go to the sub-chief, and cases in
which the sub-chiefs are involved, and all great tribal affairs,
645 go to the paramount chief. The tribal council is an impressive
sight. Just before I came here I had the privilege of being present
in one of these great gatherings of the tribe. It had met to discuss
the advisability of coming under the British Protectorate. The
great chief, Chimtunga, had sent out his messengers to call to
council all the sub-chiefs and headmen. They marched into the
[634] chief's kraal on the appointed day, each sub-chief followed by his
councillors and hundreds of armed warriors, all walking in single
file, and dressed in their gaudiest clothes. They sat round the
kraal till thousands were present. By-and-bye the paramount
[643] chief walked in, followed by his brothers and council. He was
greeted by a roar of salutation, and took his seat. When the case
was opened, and the subject introduced, the fathers of the people
rose one after the other and saluted the chief, and then addressed
the people. The speakers walked up and down, speaking with
[537] considerable incisiveness and eloquence, their language full of
metaphors and traditional allusions. Then the chief spoke,
closing the discussion. Immediately it was ended and the royal
[535] salutation given, a warrior leapt into the circle with a war cry, fell

down at the chief's feet, and with a shout dashed up again and 645 danced a furious war dance. His eyes fixed and staring with [535] passion, every muscle distended, he stabbed into the air with his spear, tossed the dust of the kraal about, and leapt hither and thither in a frenzy of passion. All the while he kept shouting his battle-cry, and the thousands of fighting men around beat their spears and chanted a chorus. When he had exhausted himself, another headman leapt into the circle and went through his own peculiar wild dance, and then another and another, and for half-an-hour or more these fantastic exhibitions were maintained. Then the chief rose. A great roar of salutation greeted him. [643] Gathering his clothes about him he walked in procession from the kraal, and the council broke up.

In the olden days the power of the chiefs was maintained by a 692 wholesome dread of his warriors, and the laws were enforced with a consistent severity. One result of this is that the Ngoni tribe has always had a higher standard of morality than any Central Africa people. Some persons were stealing mission cattle and complaints were made to the chief. After a time a thief was caught, and 685 then in spite of the pleadings of the missionary the highest penalty was meted out to him. He was hanged on a tree opposite the mission house, and it was forbidden to remove his body. The hyenas wore a path round the foot of the tree trying to get at the carcase, and there he hung, a terrible example to the neighbourhood, until the white ants ate the rope by which he hung, and the body fell to the waiting hyenas.

I have seen a chief receive news of the adultery of one of his 684 wives, turn to his executioner, and give him instructions, and in a [643] few minutes both man and woman were lying dead outside the village. I have myself begged for the life of a woman who had sinned, and she was spared only after a great fine in cattle was levied instead.

These were harsh and terrible punishments, necessary for rough 177 times. And now when the chief is loosing some of his old 681 authority, and dare not exercise capital punishment because of the overshadowing British Government, one fears that except where the power of religion has taken the place of the old dread, a weaker morality is apt to sap t[illegible]itality of the tribe. The punishments were not arbitrary. They were fixed by precedent. And all the past quarrels for forty or fifty years back would be quoted to prove the right of a plaintiff or defender. And now

their anger and propitiate them. Yet this recognition is not made 769
in any degree of affection but in the times of dark necessity.
When the rain has not fallen, when locusts swarm and eat up [871
their crops, when sickness and death are abroad in the village, the 825
spirits are working out their vengeance for being neglected. Then 753
they are remembered and sacrifice is made. There are also]
certain ceremonial observances on important occasions. Before 782
the gardens are hoed, and when the reaping time draws near; if
an army is going out to battle, or when a coronation takes place, [241
then prayer is made. The confusion of the old and new ideas 776
was amusingly illustrated at the last coronation ceremony, when 243
Mperembe, the eldest sub-chief, sacrificed a bull, and offering it to 177]
the spirit of the dead chief prayed him to bless the new chief, then
added, "and, O Mombera, bless the teachers when they go about
teaching the people the words of God." There was something
very beautiful in this recognition of Christianity as but a fuller
shining of the dim light they had.

Their old men are full of stories and traditions, some of them 538
are uncommonly like the stories of Uncle Remus, and others
with a curious echo of Old Testament story. There is a hill near
Ekwendeni, where tradition says a great tower was built by the
Tumbuka to reach into the moon. But the white ants ate away 539
the foundation and the tower fell and the people were killed. I passed below this hill when I was on my way home, and chaffed my carriers on trying to build so great a tower with wood. They laughed, and said, "But do you know the story of the hill over there?" pointing to the north. No, I said, what is it? And they told me how that long ago the Tumbuka found the country too narrow, so they decided to climb into heaven and cultivate new gardens there. So they gathered the nation together and cut down all the trees, and began to build a huge tower on this hill. When they had got a great way up, some cried "Stop, we need build no more. Here is a ladder coming down out of heaven." And they looked up and saw great roots hanging down. So the people caught hold of these roots and began climbing hand over hand up to heaven. But suddenly while they were all climbing, the roots broke, and the nation fell to the earth and was snuffed out.

Like other children of nature there are men and women in the 787
tribe who seem to have a wonderful gift of second sight. Forty
years ago a regiment went out on a great raid. The witch doctor [177]
in blessing them told them that they would meet a white man

787 rising out of the lake, this was the spirit of the fathers returned.
[177] Now they had never heard before of men with white skins. But
one day when they were burning the Henga villages, suddenly
they came on David Livingstone and his party on their first
journey of exploration on the Lake. More than once I have
heard them tell how this wicked hag had cursed her enemy and
said that beneath that tree the lightning would strike her, or some
other terrible prediction, and there came a strange fulfilment.
795 Such curious accidents gave to witch-doctors and others a
791 dangerous power over the people. And in spite of their constant
failure to bring rain, or ward off sickness and death, their reputation
was kept alive by the memory of one or two ancien
successes, and by playing on the terrors of the people. Unfortunately
these superstitious terrors led to miserable atrocities.
695 The witch-doctor was always called in to detect crime which was
not patent. He brought his poison pot with him. He might
accuse whom he pleased, and the only way the accused could
clear himself was by drinking the poison. If he became sick and
vomited then he was innocent. If he died he was guilty. When
766 a chief died his spirit was not allowed to go to the other world
alone. A great fight was organised and many were killed, that
they might be with him. Or the women and slaves were taken
and buried alive with him in the pit.

The twin children and those who cut their upper teeth before
845 their lower, or any who showed any abnormality were buried alive
847 in the sand of the river, or were cast out to the hyenas.

These atrocities are happily becoming matters of history. We
177 seldom now hear of them, and when we do, it sends a thrill of
horror through many of the people.

Now a great change is coming over the people. They are the
[643] only independent tribe is Central Africa, living under their own
chiefs. But the old military days have passed away, and with
them much of the great power of the chiefs. The old men see it,
and shake their heads, but do nothing to readjust the state. But
the young chiefs, most of whom are readers and Christians, have
set themselves energetically to try and remould their government.
[634] Our most capable and powerful sub-chief, who is himself an elder
of the church has recently established a regular hut tax, and
has formed a police force. His police bring criminals to justice,
enforce his judgments, prohibit the people from cutting down
trees, and during slack seasons go through the villages, and where